University	AD 915
St Peter's	1284
Clare	1326
Trinity	1546
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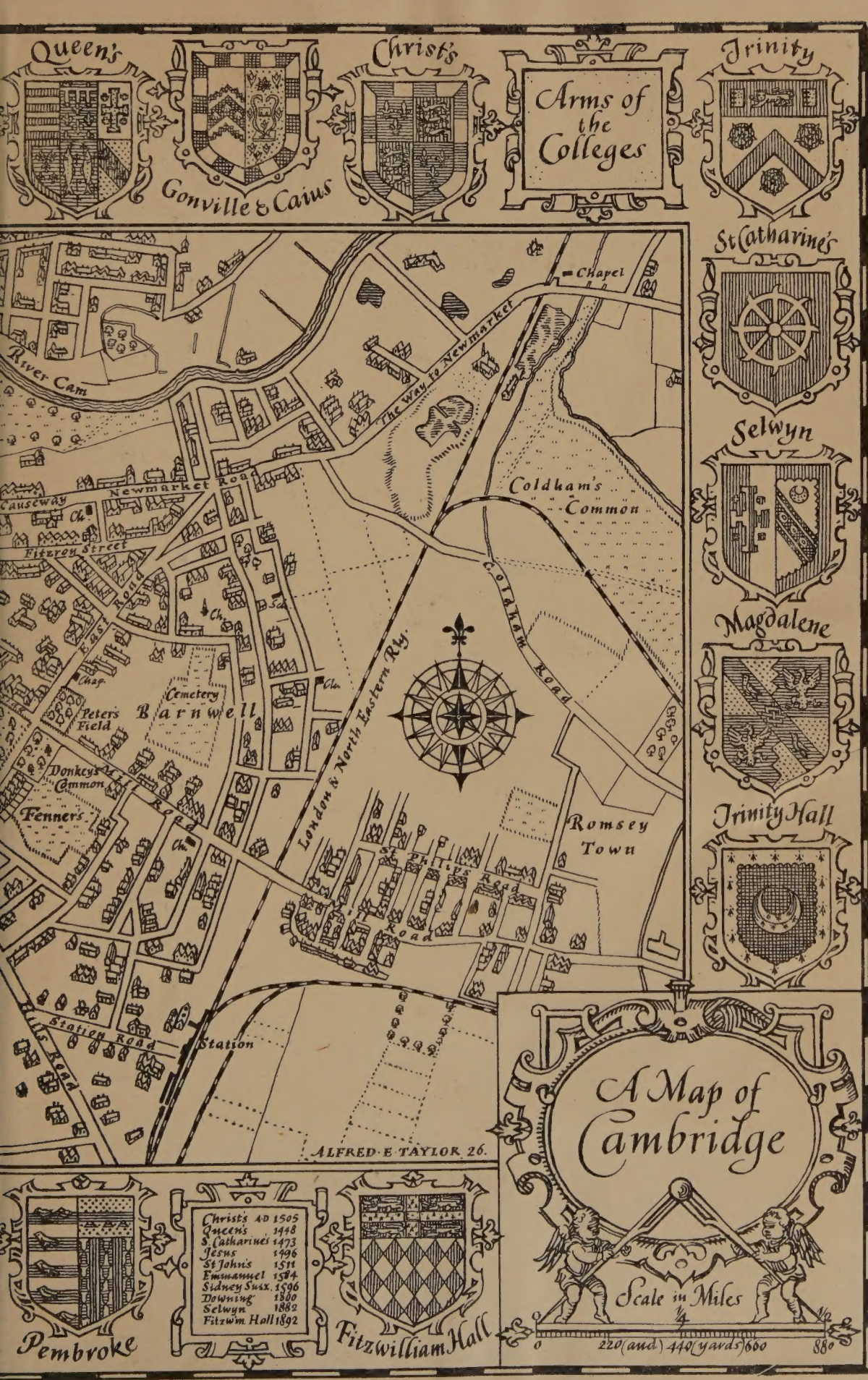
Trinity H.	1350
Corpus	1352
Magdalene	1542
King's	1441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Christ's
Arms of the Colleges
Trinity
St Catharine's
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Trinity Hall
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The way to Newmarket
River Cam
Causeway
Newmarket Road
Fitzroy Street
Coldham's Common
Coldham's Road
London & North Eastern Ry.
Cemetery
Barnwell
Peters Field
Donkey's Common
Fenner's
Romsey Town
Perne's Road
Station Road
Hills Road
Station
ALFRED E TAYLOR 26.
A Map of Cambridge
Scale in Miles
0 220 (and) 440 (yards) 660 880
Pembroke
Christ's A.D. 1505
Queen's 1448
S. Catharine's 1473
Jesus 1496
St John's 1511
Emmanuel 1584
Sidney Susx. 1596
Downing 1800
Selwyn 1882
Fitzw.m Hall 1892
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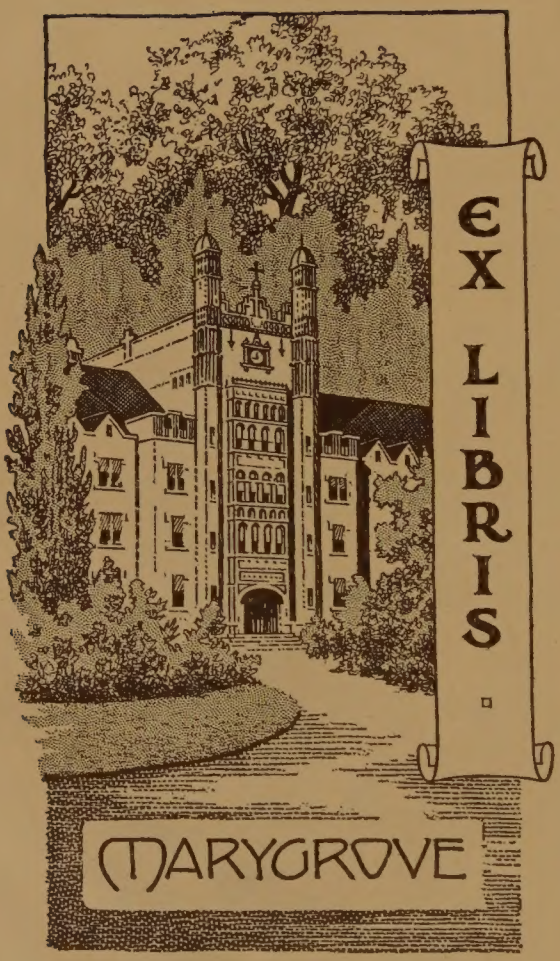
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CAMBRIDGE PAST AND PRESENT

KING'S PARADE AND THE SENATE HOUSE

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CAMBRIDGE PAST AND PRESENT

BY

BRIAN W. DOWNS

FELLOW OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE

WITH SIXTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS IN COLOUR

By E. VULLIAMY

AND A MAP

LONDON: METHUEN & CO. LTD.
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CONTENTS

		PAGE
I.	THE TOWN: SITUATION AND NAME . .	1
II.	THE TOWN: HISTORY AND COMMERCE . .	13
III.	THE TOWN: MEMORIALS AND THINGS OF FAME	28
IV.	THE TOWN: MEMORIALS AND THINGS OF FAME (*concluded*)	37
V.	THE UNIVERSITY: ORIGIN AND ORGANIZATION	50
VI.	THE UNIVERSITY: LIBRARY AND SENATE HOUSE	68
VII.	THE UNIVERSITY: PRESS AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTES	84
VIII.	THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM	93
IX.	THE COLLEGES: PETERHOUSE AND PEMBROKE	109
X.	THE COLLEGES: QUEENS', ST. CATHARINE'S, AND CORPUS CHRISTI	125
XI.	THE COLLEGES: KING'S AND CLARE . .	150
XII.	THE COLLEGES: TRINITY HALL AND CAIUS .	170
XIII.	THE COLLEGES: TRINITY	186

PAGE

XIV. THE COLLEGES: ST. JOHN'S 204

XV. THE COLLEGES: MAGDALENE AND JESUS . 214

XVI. THE COLLEGES: SIDNEY SUSSEX, CHRIST'S, AND EMMANUEL 229

XVII. THE COLLEGES: DOWNING AND OTHER FOUNDATIONS SINCE 1600 245

INDEX 253

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

MAP OF CAMBRIDGE . . . . . *Front Endpaper*

KING'S PARADE AND THE SENATE HOUSE *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

CAMBRIDGE FROM COE FEN 6

QUEENS ROAD 36

GREAT ST. MARY'S FROM MARKET HILL . . . 44

THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY AND KING'S CHAPEL . 70

THE PITT PRESS FROM BOTOLPH LANE . . . 86

THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM AND PETERHOUSE . . 108

QUEENS' COLLEGE AND SILVER STREET BRIDGE . 130

KING'S FROM THE BACKS 150

BRIDGES ON THE BACKS 158

THE NEW CLARE BUILDING 166

SENATE HOUSE PASSAGE 180

THE CLOCK TOWER, TRINITY 190

THE ENTRANCE TO THE BRIDGE OF SIGHS . . . 210

NEAR MAGDALENE BRIDGE 218

MADINGLEY HILL 250

PATRI MEO

IACOBO DOWNS

QVEM PRAETER CETEROS

AEDIFICIA ANTIQVA ET OPERA ARTIFICVM

MORANTVR

CAMBRIDGE PAST AND PRESENT

I

THE TOWN: SITUATION AND NAME

CAMBRIDGE, Town and University, lies on the furthest southern verge of the great English Fens which radiate from the Wash. To be sure, pedantic experts in swamp-lore—from whose number the Senate of Cambridge University doubtless elects the academic Conservators of the River Cam—declare that Fen rightly and properly describable as Fen and Fen alone extends past Cambridge, ending either where the University's new Engineering Laboratory frowns over Coe Fen or even as far away as the gentle eminence on which Grantchester reposes. But to the plain observer Cambridge represents the end of fen and barbarism, yea the bulwark against them, or at any rate the dividing-line between water-logged flats and the chalky strip of upland which peters out near by under the style of the Gog Magog Hills.

Miss Rose Macaulay, in one of her too infrequent poems, goes so far as to liken Cambridge to

> . . . a beleaguered city;
> For south and north, like a sea,
> There beat on its gates, without haste or pity,
> The downs and the Fen Country.

The poet's eye may see it thus. But the plain man will demur once more. Be he resident or alien, what strikes him first and oftenest, as he takes his walks abroad, is, a few huddled quaintnesses apart, the openness of the town, its wide horizons, vistas, and skies, the complete absence of such sinister "devourers" as Miss Macaulay celebrates. Enthusiastic undergraduates, fresh from the experience, will tell him that on a clear day he may from the top of John's Tower see the sun gleaming on Ely Cathedral fifteen miles off; solemn dons will maintain the thesis that, the Gog Magog Hills once overpassed, no eminence stands between him and the Ural Mountains; the burgess of the town, owner of a motor-car, will recount with seeming pride that though Godmanchester is as far away as Ely, no twist worth considering smirches the linear rectitude of the road thither. All of which the visitor's feeling of freedom and distance will make him from the very moment of utterance most potently believe.

The sense of spaciousness which Cambridge impresses on the stranger carries with it a natural corollary. Proportionately to its population, it is one of the furthest-flung towns in the British Isles. Perhaps the statistician would give first place to Bournemouth, with its miles and miles of villas

and of tram-lines from Christchurch to Poole, and again at right angles to this base; but Cambridge must run Bournemouth pretty close. It harbours, more or less, the integuments to sixty thousand souls; yet the nearest path, with houses all the way, from Queen Edith's Way in the south-east to the National Institute of Agricultural Botany on the Huntingdon Road, makes a walk of four miles, a distance approximately equalled by the east-and-west diameter as well, from the Newmarket Road Cemetery to the corner of Grantchester Road and Barton Road. Almost two hundred years ago Thomas Gray, newly come up to Peterhouse, likened the shape of Cambridge to "a spider, with a nasty lump in the middle of it, and half a dozen scambling long legs": the image is even apter to-day than when the population of the town amounted to about six thousand.

And on all these scambling roads there is but one hill which *is* a hill and two man-inflicted bumps over railway-lines! That gives you one reason for the sense of spaciousness which Cambridge imparts. Another is the wide belt of open spaces—to which I can recall no parallel anywhere—which divides the town into the inner, academic, and mercantile *cité*, and the outer, residential *faubourgs*.

Each of these great open spaces has a marked character of its own, which will perhaps excuse a little consideration of them here; and the visitor who tires physically of "pottering" round monuments and memorabilia may find a brisk walk through them and round the town, in the sequence here sketched, both tonic and agreeable.

Closest to the heart of the town, accessible through

Christ's Lane, which in bygone centuries went under the less benign appellation of "Hangman's Lane", lies Christ's Piece, officially called "Christ's Pieces". Christ's College, the buildings and trees of which appear over the western wall of brick, never owned this bit of land, as its name might suggest; but Jesus College once enjoyed certain rights over it, which it sold to the town to make a pleasure-ground. The Piece continues across Emmanuel Road to form New Square, full of Dickensian two-storied houses and Dickensian landladies and young gentlemen, wealthy in possessing all the high spirits, but happily not all the ardent spirits, of Mr. Bob Sawyer and his friend Mr. Benjamin Allen. Through Christ's Piece there surge, morning and evening, the inhabitants of much of east Cambridge to and from their daily avocations; and on Christ's Piece, when their work is done, elderly men play at bowls during the long evenings of spring and summer. On two nights in the week a band plays and hopeful youths chink little boxes for the support of the executants.

About two hundred yards from the south angle of Christ's Piece (*via* Parker Street) you come upon the north apex of that irregular rectangle, Parker's Piece, another great nexus between toil and domesticity. Edward Parker, who is here commemorated, was cook to Trinity College during the reign of Elizabeth, and at his death he returned with a rare rectitude to his late employers some of what he had, piecemeal, derived from them, by bequeathing to them this large parcel of land, then quite far out of the town. In 1613 Trinity College made it over to the corporation in exchange for a piece of land on either side of the river just north of Garret Hostel

Bridge, where the lawn tennis courts now stand. Parker's Piece is associated with the public life of the town: there, before the days of the secret ballot, stood the hustings, and political orators still inflame the mob; there devoted lieges devoured four and a half tons of plum-pudding with beef *pro rata* in honour of Queen Victoria on her coronation.

In friendly rivalry with the river, Parker's Piece played, at about the same time, an important part in the beginnings of University sport, when the first Dan Hayward of that honoured name superintended "scratch" football and cricket matches between "pick-up" teams of energetic gownsmen. It is still given up, with municipal blessings, to these diversions on Thursday and Saturday afternoons, and the fortunate may, on occasion, behold the great Jack Hobbs—a native of the town like his precursor, Tom Hayward—menace the windows of Park Side. But the athletic undergraduate has almost deserted Parker's Piece. Men of no more than middle age will, however, tell you with glistening eye how they saw Prince Ranjitsinhji as an undergraduate compile centuries there with greater ease than most men command in "breaking their ducks"; they will go on and tell you strange tales how the Prince first beheld the noble game played on this sward, and how upon it he became initiated practically into its mysteries. But these are legends. "Ranji" undoubtedly played on Parker's Piece and made runs and took wickets there. He learned the game, however, in his native land, and when the time came for making centuries the University required his services not on Parker's Piece, but at Fenner's, the world-famed cricket and athletic ground separated

from Parker's Piece by the "Queen Anne houses" on the south (where formerly stood the gaol).

To the west of Parker's Piece, merely across Regent Street, there follow on the grounds of Downing College, which we shall explore again later; and, in reality, only a hundred and fifty yards of brick, mortar, and macadam obtrude themselves between Downing and those long-stretched-out meadows to the west that lie on either side the river. The walk to drear Coe Fen *via* either Little St. Mary's Lane or Coe Fen Lane will however be longer than one hundred and fifty yards.

From Coe Fen, on the right bank of the river, one can then pass on (if one likes) to Robinson Crusoe's Island, the long narrow strip of land between the river and a loop-line ditch, and from there to the larger island of Sheep's Green with its little swamps and dips and dry channels, where in the evenings lovers please to congregate. On sunny days in spring, before foliage begins to mask architecture, Sheep's Green affords a fine, rousing view of the towers and eminences of Cambridge, from the dome of the Fitzwilliam Museum to the serried chimney-pots of Newnham College. Let us hope that the driving of the new road right through the middle of it will not destroy the simple charm of Sheep's Green, where the blustery days of spring and autumn seem to lose their harshness, and the wayfarer, who has it very nearly to himself, can study best the driving fenland clouds with their changing shadows. There, too, if anywhere, he will learn to love for his own sake "*Camus*, reverend Sire, . . . footing slow, His mantle hairy, and his Bonnet sedge," and realize the aptness of Milton's characterization.

CAMBRIDGE FROM COE FEN

Sheep's Green, in its turn, leads as far as the two mills, each within a stone's throw of the "Backs" —originally "Backsides of the Colleges"—which extend all down the river from Queens' as far as John's in the north, and which will receive further attention lower down.

Where the "Backs" end there comes the one serious break in our chain of open spaces; quarter of a mile or so of College, hithe, shops, dwelling-houses, and electricity works, intervenes before you reach Midsummer Common, which completes the chain I have been describing; for where, at its south end, Midsummer Common becomes almost imperceptibly Butt Green, the explorer can see again the trees on the north apex of Christ's Piece. Midsummer Common boasts a fine new open-air swimming bath provided by the corporation; it affords excellent views of all the boat-houses and the crews departing on or returning from their outings; and the young manhood of the vicinity disports itself there, too, as upon Parker's Piece—but rather less elaborately and scientifically.

The wall enclosing two otherwise isolated houses on the farther (eastern) side of Victoria Bridge displays in giant letters the legend "R. Callaby, Dog Fancier." The firm can point to an ancient lineage, immortalized early by Calverley in the stanza of *Hic Vir, Hic Est*, where he sings of the acme of undergraduate raffishness:

> I became as others . . .
> Learned to work the wary dogcart
> Artfully thro' King's Parade;
> Dress, and steer a boat, and sport with
> Amaryllis in the shade:

Struck, at Brown's, the dashing hazard;
Or (more curious sport than that)
Dropped, at Callaby's, the terrier
Down upon the prisoned rat.

On this same Common, too, are held the "Mammoth Show" of August Bank Holiday, which openly offers an appalled public fourteen hours of continuous enjoyment, and (on the other side of the bisecting road) "Midsummer Fair", which, having a pedigree, eschews such vulgar baits, but provides very similar entertainment. Its history goes back at least as far as the reign of John, and in 1229 Henry III formally granted it "to God and the Church of the blessed Giles of Bernewell [Barnwell] and the Prior and Canons serving God there". It continued for four days, beginning on the vigil of St. Etheldreda the Virgin, *i.e.* 22 June, and, like all fairs originally, served commerce at least as much as amusement. A commodity peculiarly associated with St. Etheldreda or St. Audrey's Fair was lace for women's neckwear, perhaps because the royal virgin there commemorated had, according to Ælfric Grammaticus, died of a sore throat, and had attributed that distemper to her youthful love of necklaces, long as she had abjured them. This lace was known far and wide as St. Audrey's lace or Tawdry Lace, and thus enriched the English language with an adjective which observers of Midsummer Fair and its patrons will adjudge most appropriate.

Valuable as a walk through the commons and "pieces" may be if they want to "mark well her bulwarks, set up her houses", the most important topographical features for further explorers of Cambridge to bear in mind are the course of the river

and the relative position of the two chief thoroughfares. The latter seem to realize Euclid's beatific vision of two parallel lines meeting at infinity. One of them, calling itself first Hills Road and then a lot of other names, comes in from the Gog Magog Hills in the south-east, crosses the river at the Great Bridge near Magdalene College, and continues towards Godmanchester and Huntingdon; the other leads in from Trumpington and is styled first Trumpington Road, then in succession Trumpington Street, King's Parade, Trinity Street, and St. John's Street. Once within the confines of the town both seem to proceed with hardly a bend, a side-street at right angle to the one apparently strikes the other at a right angle also—and yet both peacefully converge just outside the Round Church! The river perseveres on an almost straight northerly course from Coe Fen past the most important part of the town—the *cité* as I have called it—as far as Trinity College. Then it slowly begins to turn to the right, so as to pass at right angles under the Great Bridge running south-east to north-west, and to skirt Midsummer Common first in an easterly and then in a south-easterly direction.

All this mention of river and bridge leads on, as soon as geographical interests pall, to a consideration not only of the earliest history of Cambridge, but of a series of very nicely correlated historical problems arising out of the question: What is the proper name of the place and of the river with which we are concerned, and what *bridge* does the place-name commemorate?

Professor Chadwick, who knows more about life in northern and western Europe before the Norman

Conquest of England than most people, declares that a reference to the town in the Saxon Chronicle for the year A.D. 875 is the earliest mention in any Teutonic language of a place-name compounded with " brycge ", or " bridge ", or " brück ", or cognate forms.

This bridge, which thus, as it were, stretches a hand (or should we not rather say " throws a span " ?) across the Darkest Ages to Pontefract, stood no doubt where the Great Bridge now stands, near Magdalene College and by the side of the ford which had been used up to the time of its construction. No trace of this venerable viaduct remains, nor, indeed, of any of its successors before the present structure on the site, which is just over a hundred years old. The existing bridge is not beautiful. As of the remaining public bridges of Cambridge, all of which date from the nineteenth century, one can justly say of it that the iron has entered into its soul.

The records of the other major bridge in the town, Silver Street Bridge, afford a curious illustration of the religious life of the Middle Ages. The care of this bridge, or rather these bridges, called the Small Bridges, since they then spanned two separate arms of the river, was entrusted to a hermit, who, in addition, levied tolls on them and seems to have been responsible for the upkeep of about four miles of country road on the far side. Clearly, in the phrase of *Piers Plowman*,

An Hermit unholy of works.

And now to turn on our tracks and attack the major problem of nomenclature: in what relation do the name of the river and that of the town stand ?

It seems an easy question to answer: there was a river called Cam—which may or may not mean "crooked" in old Welch—and a bridge over it called Cam-Bridge, *ergo* Cambridge. But "Cam" is nowhere found earlier than "Cambridge," and what *is* found is an allied form to the designation town and gown still commonly apply to the river, *viz.* "Granta." The monks of Peterbro', in chronicling the annals of 875, called the town on this river "Grantan Brycge"—which had become "Grentebrige" in the *Domesday Book* two centuries later. Chaucer, however, three hundred years after that, refers to the town as Cantebrigge, a form approximately the same as that fossilized in the dog-Latin Cantabrigia (whence "Cantab"). What are the true linguistic relations between Cantabrigia and Cambridge, Cam and Granta, Grantan Brycge and Grantchester, the village two miles up-stream?

In three papers have the late Professor Skeat and the learned Swede, Mr. Zachrisson, traversed all the lines of argument and reached conclusions which may be summarized as follows: To the Normans (who, like their descendants, seem to have been poor phoneticians, but fastidious in what they considered cacophony) Grantebridge sounded the same as Crantebridge, and Crantebridge so ugly that they dropped the first *r*. Cantëbridgë of four syllables became Cantbridge of two, then Canbridge (with a long *a*), and, from that, comprehensibly enough, Cambridge. From this in turn the *modern* name of the river, Cam, derived, to stand side by side with Rhee (= merely River in Celtic) and its ancient and proper name of Granta. And Grantchester ought by rights to go by some name like Grandset,

if archæological meddlers had not identified an intermediate form of the word with the Venerable Bede's "Grantacaestir" (eighth century); and *this* Grantchester of Bede's, the Caer-Grant of the ancient Britons, is our dear Cambridge—stood on the same site, that means to say—which the Saxons in their understandable pride at having constructed the first bridge of any size in North-western Europe since the dissolution of the Roman Empire turned into Granta-*brycge*.

The Latin chronicler, Henry of Huntingdon, who died eighty-nine years after the Norman Conquest, seems to clinch the argument in a sentence: "Kair-Grant, id est, Granteceastria, quae modo dicitur Cantebrigia."

II

THE TOWN: HISTORY AND COMMERCE

UNHAPPILY, neither the Saxon Chronicle nor the Venerable Bede, nor Henry of Huntingdon recounts anything of value about the early history of Cambridge-Grantchester. The entry of 875, for instance, to which reference has been made, simply informs us that three obscure Danish "Kings" migrated thither from Repton in Derbyshire and abode a year. We do not even know when the Anglo-Saxons constructed their epoch-making bridge here, though the Master of Jesus, Mr. Arthur Gray, has argued with great plausibility in support of some date during the reign of Offa, the Mercian monarch who before his death in 796 had waxed so great that he negotiated with Charlemagne as an equal and, to put Kent and Northumbria with their Canterbury and their York in their proper place, turned the See of Lichfield into an Archbishopric.

We remain equally unenlightened about the Roman Settlement, whose existence must be inferred from the forms *Kaer*-Grant and Granta*caester*. The general assumption places it at the intersection of the two local Roman highways—Akeman Street, which runs from Cirencester to Brancaster on the Norfolk Coast,

and the "Via Devana" (so first called no earlier than the eighteenth century), which connected Colchester with Ermine Street or the Old North Road at Godmanchester.

Should this be so, the Roman station or settlement must have lain on the left bank of the river, since Akeman Street does not cross any water flowing past Cambridge till near Denver in Norfolk. The rectilinear earthworks to be traced at Mount Pleasant, not far from the Shire Hall, and in St. Giles's Churchyard, are then, fairly certainly, remains of the Roman camp. There is much to suggest that locally this left bank remained for long the more important. William the Conqueror built his castle there, and the parcel of the town round the castle was familiarly known as "The Borough" within living memory—though possibly that may mean no more than "Castle end" or "Roman Settlement end".

Already at the time, however, when municipal life began to revive in the post-Roman age, a settlement almost certainly existed on what nowadays all agree in calling the truly Cantabridgian—as distinguished from Chestertonian or north-western—side of the river as well. The evidence for this the present Master of Jesus has advanced with the lucidity and cogency inseparable from all his writing. According to his *Dual Origin of the Town of Cambridge*, the nucleus of this township, which at the time of the heptarchy may have played the part of an East Anglian Hendaye to the Irun of Mercia across the river, should be located at St. Benet's Church, which possesses in its tower the oldest extant building on either bank of the Cam. And certainly as soon as we begin to find any detailed records this moiety ranks on terms of

equality with the other and soon, as certainly, eclipsed it.

The importance of Cambridge before the twelfth century appears to have been mainly military. Whoso held it commanded also the strip of open chalk-land between fen and forest which formed the only avenue by which the inhabitants of East Anglia (Norfolk and Suffolk) could enter the rest of England, and the rest of England could get at them. It lay, moreover, at the northern side of this strip, at the head of the navigable river which provided easy communication with the mainland of Europe, and, most particularly, with the homelands of the Vikings. With the thinning of the forest that covered almost all Essex and of which Epping Forest remains as a degenerate residuum, and with the substitution of France for Scandinavia as the continental region whose fortunes most nearly affected our own, the strategic and political importance of the town waned. In the history of England it plays little part after William the Conqueror, using Cambridge as his base, had crushed the fierce resistance of the fenmen under Hereward "the Wake." Its position rendered it almost immune from disturbances civil as well as international—the Wars of the Roses, for instance, and the raids by sea and air of the last Great War. The important local repercussions of Wat Tyler's revolt and of the disputed succession to Edward VI I hope to touch upon in other chapters.

The only historical notes necessary to add to these touch Cromwell, who, it will be remembered, entered Parliament as member for the borough. On account of the undissembled Puritanical leanings which they evinced in common with most of eastern England,

Cromwell made Cambridge and Cambridgeshire the centre of the seven Associated Protestant Counties. He placed a "drake" or large cannon on the Great Bridge, he destroyed the other two public bridges, he turned the first Court of St. John's College into a gaol for stubborn Royalists; and his influence presumably reduced to the smallest possible measure Puritan iconoclasm on the one hand and disturbance in the proper routine of the University on the other. In spite of numerous vexations Cambridge certainly enjoyed a much happier fate in the middle of the seventeenth century than did the home of lost causes.

The monarch, however, with whom Cambridge seems to have had most direct dealings was John, who evidently had a partiality for the eastern side of England: did he not lose his baggage in the Wash and overeat himself at Swinstead?

In 1215, having allowed his soldiers to sack the town of Cambridge, he drew an artificial watercourse in a semi-circular sweep from the Mills near the Small Bridges to the public hithe or quay opposite Magdalene College, thereby making a complete island of the south-eastern half of Cambridge. This King's Ditch, as it was called, was "strengthened" (presumably in a military, not olfactory sense) by Henry III, who meant further to reinforce it with a wall. But this was never done. Cambridge never became a walled town, and so had the opportunity of exhibiting already in the Middle Ages that comparative spaciousness for which I have already commended it. Still, the Ditch served to separate Cambridge itself from its suburbs, a circumstance not without a bearing on the fortunes of some of

the Colleges which sprang up later. It may, therefore, be useful to trace its course by indicating where it crossed the main roads.

The King's Ditch reached the western of the two main thoroughfares at the corner of what are now Mill Lane and Trumpington Street, the Pitt Press site lying within, the site of Pembroke outside. Here stood the Trumpington Gate, a gatehouse destroyed within a few years of its building, and, no doubt, a drawbridge. Proceeding, the Ditch crossed the line of the "Via Devana" at the present Post Office, where the gate was known as the Barnwell Gate, and Jesus Lane at the point at which Park Street runs into it. The stone bridge which was built here later to carry the roadway over the Ditch still lies embedded in the foundation of the modern street. Sections, too, of the Ditch itself serve as drains to this day.

The King's Ditch, being neither deep nor wide, can never have had much military value. It merely stank. In the autumn of 1574, when plague raged in Cambridge, the Vice-Chancellor of the University and Master of Peterhouse, Dr. Perne, wrote "To the right Honorable and my singuler good Lorde, my Lorde Burghley, Lord Treasorer of England, and highe Chauncellor of the University of Cambridge" in these terms: "Allthough we must confesse that our synnes is the principall cause of this and of all other plages sent by Allmightie God, Yet the secondarie cause and meanes that God did use to bringe the same, so far fourth as I do understand, is not the corruption of the ayer as the Phisitiens saieth at this tyme, but partlie by the apparell of one that cam from London to Midsomer fayer and died

of the plage in Barnwell, where the plage hath been and is now most vehement. The other cause as I conjecture, is the corruption of the King's dytch the which goeth thorough Cambridge. . . ."

More sanguine of purging the sewer than the hearts and souls of his fellow-citizens and academic subjects, Dr. Perne goes on to suggest that "the water that cometh from Shelford to Trumpingtonford (withowte any commoditie) might be conveighed from the said Trumpingtonford into the King's ditch . . . for the perpetual scouringe of the same, the which would be a singuler benefite for the healthsomnes both of the universitie and of the Towne. . . ."

Dr. Perne's sensible scheme lay in abeyance for some time, but not forgotten; in 1606 subscriptions for its execution were collected and in 1610 the excavations finished, according to the plans of Edward Wright, M.A., of Caius, the engineer of the New River. The water from Nine Wells, near Great Shelford, was diverted just before the ford on the Trumpington Road at the first milestone out of Cambridge, and taken in a broadish channel for nearly half a mile along the east side of the road, past what are now the University Botanical Gardens and the grounds of the Leys School. Then it began to divide into different channels: one to run down the middle of Trumpington Street, one to flow along the other main thoroughfare for the last half-mile to the Barnwell Gate, a third to replenish the ponds in the gardens of Emmanuel and Christ's Colleges: all these flowed at different points into the King's Ditch, which they effectually scoured. These functions the conduit still carries out and the running gutters in the main streets, which form so strange a

feature of the Cambridge scene, after three hundred and fifty years, perpetuate Dr. Perne's hygienic contrivance.

The last trickles ran into the Market Square and then out of the "Conduit Head", which remained on its original site until 1855. Then it was removed to the spot at which the water first flows underground, the corner of Trumpington Road and Lensfield Road, where it may still be seen. The inscription upon it seems to attribute the merit of the scheme to Thomas Hobson, the celebrated carrier and horse-lender; but he appears neither to have devised it nor to have borne the brunt of the executive and financial responsibility, though by his will he left money for its upkeep.

It is to King John also (to return to the starting-point of this lengthy digression) that the permanent legalisation of certain customs, rights, and privileges is due, which testifies to the commercial importance of Cambridge after its political and military value had begun to decline.

This commercial importance had not sprung up in a night. King Edward the Martyr, whose memory a parish church perpetuates, set up a mint in the town, and his successors as late as William Rufus continued the privilege. In the reign of William the Conqueror came the Jews, who settled in what is now the *Cor Cordum* of Cambridge, the triangle between Market Street and the two main thoroughfares. It is possible that their Jewry in the course of time helped to form the last material link between the two Cambridges then in existence—the Cambridge at the Bridge and the Cambridge round St. Benet's Church and the Market Place, where the municipal

buildings have stood time out of mind. The Jews remained until the general expulsion from England in 1291. They appear to have been most superior Semites, since Fuller reports of them: "Here their carriage was very civil nor complained of (as elsewhere) for cruel crucifying of Christian children and other enormities. . . ."

The commercial prosperity of Cambridge later became in great measure identified with its four fairs. One of them, Midsummer Fair, or "Pot Fair", as eventually it came to be called, I have already spoken of. Then there was Reach Fair, belonging to the town, though held at Swaffham, some way off, and Garlic Fair, belonging to the Nuns of St. Rhadegund's Priory. But much the most important of them was Stourbridge or Sturbridge Fair.

Tradition used to derive the institution of this Fair from the Romans, who certainly did organize temporary emporia analogous to the fairs of later times: at Lyons, for example, whose great fair apparently goes back without interruption seventeen centuries or more. But from it earliest appearance on record—during the reign of King John once more—the great fair at Cambridge is associated with the Lepers' Hospital at Stourbridge, in the grounds of which, now Stourbridge Common, it was and still is held. The name "Stourbridge" refers to the bridge which, beyond Barnwell, carried the Newmarket Road over the rivulet later known as Coldham's Brook: a village of that name never existed. The Hospital, about which I shall have more to say in the next chapter, enjoyed the emoluments arising at the Fair from tolls, fines, and the like between

1211 and the suppression of the religious houses by Henry VIII; then town and University alike laid claim to them, until a charter of 1589 imposed a compromise, by which the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses pocketed all the profits arising from tolls, rent of booths, etc., while they had to share equally with the University the fines and forfeits accruing from the assise of bread, wine, ale, beer, all victuals, and the trial of all weights and measures employed.

The Fair was held annually from 24 August to 28 September. According to contemporary eye-witnesses and to scholars of a later date, it probably ranked in its heyday as the greatest fair in Europe, the bulk of business transacted exceeding even the almost legendary magnificence of Nijni-Novgorod, not to mention the great German fairs of Leipzig, Frankfurt, and Augsburg. It was then that De Foe visited and wrote the classical description which, for all its length, must be quoted almost in full, the fullness being, as I hope will appear, nothing less than essential.

"It is impossible to describe all the Parts and Circumstances of this Fair exactly; the shops are placed in Rows like Streets, whereof one is call'd *Cheapside*; and here, as in several other Streets, are all sorts of Trades, who sell by Retale, and who come principally from *London* with their Goods; scarce any Trades are omitted, Goldsmiths, Toy-shops, Brasiers, Turners, Milleners, Haberdashers, Hatters, Mercers, Drapers, Pewterers, China-Ware-houses, and in a word all Trades that can be named in *London*; with Coffee-Houses, Taverns, Brandy-Shops, and Eating-houses, innumerable, and all in Tents, and Booths, as above. . . .

"In another Street parallel with the Road are like Rows of Booths, but larger, and more intermingled with Wholesale Dealers, and one Side, passing out of this Street to the left hand, is a formal great Square, built in that Form, and which they call the *Duddery*; whence the Name is deriv'd, and what its Signification is, I could never yet learn, tho' I made all possible search into it." De Foe, it will be remembered, was the first who "lied like truth"; if he had asked any Yorkshireman or Scot at the Fair, he would have been told that "duds" are woollen clothes or woollens generally, and a "duddery" the place where such are dealt in. He goes on:

"This Place is separated, and Peculiar to the Wholesale Dealers in the Woollens Manufacture. . . . In this *Duddery*, as I have been inform'd, there have been sold One Hundred Thousand Pounds worth of Woollen Manufactures in less than a Week's time, besides the prodigious Trade carry'd on here, by Wholesale-men from *London*, and all Parts of *England*, who transact their Business wholly in their Pocket-Books, and meeting their Chapmen from all Parts, make up their Accounts, receive Money chiefly in Bills, and take Orders: These they say exceed by far the Sales of Goods actually brought to the Fair, and deliver'd in Kind. . . .

"Here are Clothiers from *Halifax*, *Leeds*, *Wakefield* and *Huthersfield* in *Yorkshire*, and from *Rochdale*, *Bury*, etc. in *Lancashire*, with vast Quantities of *Yorkshire* Cloths, Kerseyes, Pennistons, Cottons, *&c.* with all sorts of *Manchester* Ware, Fustians, and things made of Cotton Wool; of which the Quantity is so great that they told me there were near a Thousand

Horse-Packs of such Goods from that side of the Country . . .; also a part of a Street of Booths were taken up with Upholsterer's Ware, such as Tickings, Sackings, *Kidderminster* Stuffs, Blankets, Rugs, Quilts, *&c.* . . .

"But all this is still out done, at least in show, by two Articles, which are the peculiars of this Fair, and do not begin till the other Part of the Fair, *that is to say for the Woollen Manufacture*, begins to draw to a Close: These are the WOOLL, and the HOPS, as for the Hops, there is scarce any Price fix'd for Hops in *England*, till they know how they sell at *Sturbridge* Fair; the Quantity that appears in the Fair is indeed prodigious, and they, as it *were*, possess a large Part of the Field on which the Fair is kept, to themselves; they are brought directly from *Chelmsford* in *Essex*, from *Canterbury* and *Maidstone* in *Kent*, and from *Farnham* in *Surrey*, besides what are brought from *London*, the growth of those, and other Places.

". . . I must not omit here also to mention, that the River *Grant*, or *Cam* . . . is Navigable, and that by this means, all heavy Goods are brought even to the Fair-Fields, by Water Carriage from *London*, and other Parts; first to the Port of *Lynn*, and then in Barges up the *Ouse*, from the *Ouse* into the *Cam*, and, so, I say to the very Edge of the Fair.

"In like manner great Quantities of heavy Goods, and the Hops amongst the rest, are sent from the Fair to *Lynn* by water, and shipped there for the *Humber*, to *Hull*, *York*, *&c.* and for *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*, and by *New-Castle*, even to *Scotland* itself. . . .

"The next Article brought hither, is Wool, and

this of several sorts, but principally Fleece Wool, out of *Lincolnshire*, where the longest Staple is found; the Sheep of those Countries being of the largest Breed.

"The Buyers of this Wool, are chiefly indeed the Manufacturers of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and *Essex*, and it is a prodigious Quantity they buy.

"Here I saw what I have not observed in any other Country of *England*, namely *a Pocket* of Wool. This seems to be first call'd so in Mockery, this *Pocket* being so big, that it loads a whole Waggon, and reaches beyond the most extream Parts of it hanging over both before, and behind, and these ordinarily weigh a Ton or 25 Hundred weight of Wool, all in one Bag.

"The Quantity of Wool only, which has been sold at this Place at one Fair, has been said to amount to fifty or sixty Thousand Pounds, in value, some say a great deal more. . . .

"I might go on here to speak of several other sorts of *English* Manufactures, which are brought hither to be sold; as all sorts of wrought Iron, and Brass Ware from *Birmingham*; Edg'd Tools, Knives, *&c.* from *Sheffield*; Glass Wares, and Stockings, from *Nottingham*, and *Leicester* and an infinite Throng of other things of smaller value, every Morning.

"To attend this Fair, and the prodigious conflux of People, which come to it, there are sometimes no less than fifty Hackney Coaches, which come from *London*, and ply Night and Morning to carry the People to and from *Cambridge*; for there the Gross of the People lodge; nay, which is still more strange, there are Wherries brought from *London* on Waggons to plye upon the little River *Cam*, and to row People

up and down from the Town, and from the Fair as Occasion presents.

"It is not to be wondered at, if the Town of *Cambridge* cannot Receive, or Entertain the Number of People that come to this Fair; not *Cambridge* only, but all the Towns round are full [as at the time of Newmarket Races to-day]; nay, the very Barns, and Stables are turn'd into Inns, and made as fit as they can to Lodge the meaner Sort of People: As for the People in the Fair, they all universally Eat, Drink and Sleep in their Booths, and Tents; and the said Booths are so intermingled with Taverns, Coffee-Houses, Drinking-Houses, Eating-Houses, Cook-Shops, *&c.* and, all in Tents too; and so many Butchers, and Higglers from all the Neighbouring Counties come into the Fair every Morning with Beef, Cheese, Eggs, and such things . . . that there's no want of any Provisions of any Kind, either dress'd, or undress'd.

"In a Word, the Fair is like a well Fortify'd City, and there is the least Discorder and Confusion (*I believe*) that can be seen any where, with so great a Concourse of People.

"Towards the latter End of the Fair, and when the great Hurry of Wholesale Business begins to be over, the Gentry came in, from all Parts of the County round; and tho' they come for their Diversion; yet 'tis not a little Money they lay out; which generally falls to the share of the Retailers, such as Toy-shops, Goldsmiths, Brasiers, Ironmongers, Turners, Milleners, Mercers, *&c.* and some loose [Coins] they reserve for the Puppet-Shows, Drolls, Rope-Dancers, and such like; of which there is no want, though not considerable like the rest: The last Day of the Fair is

the *Horse-Fair*, when the whole is clos'd with both Horse and Foot Races, to divert the meaner Sort of People only, for nothing considerable is offer'd of that Kind: Thus Ends the whole Fair, and in less than a Week more, there is scarce any Sign left that there has been such a thing there; except by the Heaps of Dung and Straw, and other Rubbish which is left behind, trod into the Earth, and which is as good as a Summer's fallow for Dunging to the Land; and . . . pays the Husbandman well for the use of it.

"I should have mention'd, that here is a Court of Justice always open, and held every Day in a Shed built on purpose in the Fair; this is for keeping the Peace, and deciding Controversies in matters Deriving from the Business of the Fair: The Magistrates of the Town of *Cambridge* are Judges in this Court, as being in their Jurisdiction, or they holding it by special Priviledge: Here they determine Matters in a Summary way, as is practis'd in those we call *Pye-Powder Courts* in other Places, or as a *Court of Conscience*; and they have a final Authority without Appeal."

Already a few years after De Foe's visit the decline began. Nowadays, except for a small horse-fair, its commercial activity is restricted to the sale of sweets and cheap toys. But some of what it loses on the swing-boats (to be taken in a metaphorical sense) it may make up on the very real roundabouts. A relic of the more extensive trade of the Fair survives in Garlic Row, the name of a street between Newmarket Road and Stourbridge Common. Would that the old Fair had left a sweeter scent to perfume the musty pages of record!

De Foe noted already that the town of Cambridge virtually lived on the University; and its main industry is still Mrs. Quickly's, " to wash, brew, bake, scour, dress meat and drink, make the beds ", and minister in general to undergraduates and others who live on them.

Two further enterprises, however, which owe their success to the best co-operation between townsmen and gownsmen demand mention: the Scientific Instrument Company's Works and the University Press; the latter, in addition, has served as a stimulus to the bookbinding firms, for which Cambridge has long been celebrated, and to paper-making, for which the town formerly enjoyed equal renown, though the business has now migrated to Sawston, a large, prosperous village about seven miles to the south.

III

THE TOWN: MEMORIALS AND THINGS OF FAME

FROM each of the three localities which we have been considering in the last chapter as the parents of Cambridge and its prosperity, one truly ancient and interesting monument survives virtually intact to this day: from transpontine Cambridge the so-called "School of Pythagoras"; from cispontine Cambridge the tower of St. Benet's; from Stourbridge (such as it is and was) the chapel of that Lepers' Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene to which originally the revenues of the great fair were appropriated. A study of the reverend stones of Cambridge may fittingly begin with these seniors among them.

Anyone with no more than one or two days to devote to Cambridge will find plenty of better things to do; but those with a passion for architecture and more time at their disposal will consider themselves adequately repaid for the expedition to Stourbridge Chapel, especially as it can be combined with the seeing of other sights somewhat off the beaten track. It lies just off the Newmarket Road immediately after it has crossed the main railway-line to Cambridge from the north, and is visible to

passengers by train from Ely, St. Ives, or Mildenhall, on the left, just after they have crossed the Cam. The mode of leisurely inspection which best combines economy with interest is this: board outside the Post Office one of the half-hourly Newmarket Road motor-omnibuses (Service 6), and ride on it to its terminus, which is within five minutes' walk, straight forthright, of the Chapel; and on the return journey examine what remains of Barnwell Priory.

Stourbridge Chapel is a tiny flint edifice in the Norman style, no more than fifty feet long in all. Experts assign to it a date round about 1125, and, except for the fifteenth-century roofs and alteration to the east window, it still remains an essentially twelfth-century building, in excellent preservation since Sir Gilbert Scott's restoration in 1867. Its charm lies in its small-scale completeness, the only unusual feature consisting of a comparatively wide archway in the south wall of the chancel. Since 1817 it has belonged to the University, but it fulfils no University functions, indeed no functions of any sort, though during the late war it was used as a chapel by the inmates of the Barnwell Military Hospital.

No other traces of the Lepers' Hospital survive, either in topology or in document; it seems doubtful, in fact, whether those lepers for whose ostensible benefit the warden of the Hospital garnered in his dues at the fair, were ever really housed there.

When you have gazed as long as you wish on Stourbridge Chapel, cast a glance at the two picturesque old houses beyond: the first, the Paper Mills, recalls the Cambridge habitat of the industry now moved to Sawston. Then turn on your tracks and

follow the path by which you have come, and which in due time will bring you to the site of Barnwell Priory.

Barnwell Priory was an important Augustinian house, founded in 1112. Its name is oftenest mentioned in connexion with two historical documents. The earlier of them is the Statute of Cambridge, passed by the Parliament of 1388. This Parliament probably sat in Barnwell and was convoked by Richard II, who was certainly staying there at the time. The nature of the statute is indicated by its delightful preamble :

"For that so much dung and filth of the garbage and intrails, as well of beasts killed as of other corruptions, be cast and put in ditches, rivers, and other waters ; and also within many other places, within, about, and nigh unto divers cities, boroughs, and towns of the realm, and the suburbs of them, that the air there is greatly corrupt and infect. . . ." In the same year, by the by, the King by writ called upon no less a person than the Chancellor of Cambridge University "to remove from the streets and lanes of the town all swine, and all dirt, dung, filth, and trunks and branches of trees, and to cause the streets and lanes to be kept clear for the future."

The second legal transaction associated with Barnwell is the Barnwell Process of 1430 by which the Prior of Barnwell, acting as the duly appointed deputy of the Pope, declared that the University, in its Chancellor, had established its claim to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, independent of any archbishop, bishop, or archdeacon, or their officials, *i.e.* freed it from all provincial and diocesan interference.

The most obvious relic of Barnwell Priory is the church on the north side of Newmarket Road, about

twelve minutes' walk as one comes from Stourbridge Chapel—St. Andrew's the Less, or the Abbey Church, as it is still called familiarly. Its fabric certainly dates from the time of the Priory—from the early thirteenth century, to be more exact—it stood, as certainly, on the south of the Priory site, and it was, equally certainly, served by the Priory's canons. For all that, its precise relationship with the Priory remains unknown. It was, definitely, not the conventual chapel, but most probably a building put up to relieve it of the parochial duties originally assigned to it as well. Apart from its mildly agreeable general effect this building in the Early English style has nothing much to commend it, though those sufficiently curious and pertinacious to enter will probably find the arch-mouldings of the east window worth looking at.

To get from the Abbey Church to an undoubtedly conventual relic of the Priory, proceed towards Cambridge and take the first turn to the right (Abbey Road), pass a very handsome seventeenth-century house, the Abbey House, and again take the first turn to the right (Beche Road). A little way along, at the angle of Priory Road (which leads down to the river) and Beche Road, you will see the remains in question. They take the form of what is virtually a single chamber, a living-room, comfortable, almost luxurious according to standards prevailing when it was built, which was contemporaneously with the Abbey Church, except for the four-centred arch in the wall, which must have been inserted in the fifteenth century. What officer of the Priory inhabited it no one now knows, though it is often stated to have been the Cellarer. On the other side of Beche Road

one can see an old wall; wellnigh everything else of the old Priory has gone. As was the customary fate of suppressed monasteries, it was used as a quarry in Tudor times, and about a hundred years ago the very foundations were dug up in a search for gravel.

As said, Priory Road leads to the towpath, the pleasantest, though not the shortest, route on to Cambridge. There the racing-boat crews, eight-oared for the most part, may be seen exercising every week-day afternoon in "Full Term",[1] from about 2.15 to 4 in the two winter terms, and from about 2.15 to 6 in summer. The college eight-oared boatraces are held twice annually further down the river: the Lent races between fixed-seat clinker-built "eights" towards the middle of February, the May races in the first or second week of June between "light boats" furnished with sliding seats. As the river is too narrow for the usual kind of racing, the "bumping" method is adopted, the boats starting at intervals of twenty yards, each with the object of ramming its precursor. When that is done, both crews remain *hors de combat* for that race, but the next day (or "night", as it is officially called) their places in the order of starting are reversed. Each spell of races goes on for four nights, and as there are more entrants than the course can accommodate even on this principle, there are three or four "divisions", the boat finishing at the top of one having to row an hour later as last of the division next above. Hence its name of sandwich-boat. The first boat of Division I in the May races is "Head of the River".

[1] See page 61 *n.*

If circumstances or inclination should prove unfavourable to an excursion along the towpath, you may perhaps care to return on foot along the main road which you have already trodden from Stourbridge Chapel.

Where the number of public houses begins to abate, you come to a dark-looking tunnel, principally a bicycle-shed, labelled "King's College Club". This is the approach to the old Barnwell Theatre Royal. Here, from its erection in 1806 until 1878, some of the first actors of their day made their bow to Cambridge audiences: Macready, for instance, Sheridan Knowles, and the younger Kean. Here, within the memory of some old people, Dickens gave one of his celebrated readings. The interior of the building, though plentifully bedaubed with religious texts, shows many of the characteristics of a play-house of the age of Mrs. Siddons: the comparatively deep auditorium with shallow balconies, and half-apron stage with oblique doors on the audience side of the proscenium arch surmounted by windows. There must be a few such old theatres, perhaps slightly transformed into kinemas, up and down the country, but I can only call to mind another like the old Barnwell house, namely, the Theatre Royal at Bristol.

As you pursue the way to the centre of the town you pass a parody of King's Chapel, a parish church which has the peculiarity of standing in two parishes, and then come to a piece of road where the raised footpath is fenced off from the roadway. This goes by the quaint style of Maids' Causeway. The "Causeway" part of the name is connected with a benefaction of Dr. Perse—whom we shall meet

again—who willed that his executors should within three years next after his decease [in 1615] " make a sufficient Causey from the further end of Jesus Lane to the hither end of Barnwell " ; the " Maids " half comes from " four poor godly ancient maidens," for whom in 1647 Miss Elizabeth Knight provided an almshouse in this neighbourhood, and who doubtless often found cause to bless good Dr. Perse as they returned from their marketing in Cambridge on a wet winter's day when the floods were out.

At the end of Maids' Causeway you may either continue the way you came in the bus, along squalid King Street to Christ's College and Petty Cury, or proceed straight along Jesus Lane. In that event you have on your right first Jesus College and then Wesley House, where Methodist divines and divines-to-be are lodged. On the left All Saints' Church, a modern building which replaced All Saints-in-the-Jewry, facing St. John's College, and Westcott House, a post-graduate theological seminary for members of the Church of England.

The " School of Pythagoras ", the oldest monument in Cambridge north-west of the river, lies between Castle Hill and the fourth court of St. John's College. To see it, you must boldly advance into the yard of the Merton Arms Inn in Northampton Street. Such a visit, even if the extension suggested below be added, had best be made in conjunction with an inspection of Magdalene College.

The " School of Pythagoras " is that uncommon rarity, a very complete Norman dwelling-house of two stories, the upper of which formed the Hall. It dates from the latter half of the twelfth century.

Why and when it received its present name are equally unknown. It certainly has nothing to do with any Greek philosopher's life-history, nor does it seem ever to have served education in any way, though, as many names in the vicinity testify, the property round about forms one of the oldest endowments of one of the oldest Oxford Colleges. In all probability it was put up as the semi-rural house of some Norman magnate, perhaps an official in the Castle hard by.

Those who feel impelled to seek out the "School of Pythagoras" and potter round it, may like at the same time to explore the other relics of "the Borough". They do not amount to much. Of the Castle itself, which stood behind the present Law Courts or Shire Hall on the summit of the hill, the last remnant disappeared eighty-four years ago in the form of a decayed gatehouse. The donjon mound, however, defies the zeal of the improver, and there are traces of other earthworks about for the curious to ponder over and endeavour to assign era and purpose. Whenever they were thrown up and for whatever end, they certainly afford a splendid view over the town. But they are not very easy to get to.

On the way between the "School of Pythagoras" and the Castle, *via* Northampton Street and Castle Street, we pass two churches, one of which looks exceedingly old. This is the tiny Church of St. Peter, measuring thirty-five feet long by fifteen feet wide. But only the tower and spire, with probably a small part of the northern wall, go back to the twelfth century; the rest dates only from 1781, when, however, much material from the older building on

the same site, including bricks ascribed to Roman manufacture, was utilized in its reconstruction.

St. Giles's across the road looks back on an even longer history, as the parent church possibly of all Cambridge, almost certainly of Cambridge-by-the Castle. But the present church, a barn-like erection of amazing ugliness, was built in 1875, when pious hands destroyed the remains of the older church adjacent to its site; the doorway of the nave and the eleventh-century chancel-arch alone have been incorporated in the modern structure. The Augustinian canons, by the way, who ultimately settled at Barnwell Priory in 1112, used and served St. Giles's Church during the first twenty years of their connexion with Cambridge.

QUEENS ROAD

IV

THE TOWN: MEMORIALS AND THINGS OF FAME (*concluded*)

IT would be vain to affirm that the last chapter has described exhaustively the attractions of outlying and transpontine Cambridge. The assiduous sightseer, particularly if he have no dislike of the old-fashioned sport of walking, could find plenty of "quaint" corners or even nobler prospects outside the heart of the town but within the statutory 2½ miles of Great St. Mary's Church, which seems to mark the ambit of the University. At Old Chesterton he may see the fine Hall, abutting on to the main road, a most satisfying mediaeval barn near the church, and some ancient cottages; near the Shire Hall those earthworks skirting Mount Pleasant to which I have referred as pretty certainly Roman; the overhanging houses of Castle Street, Magdalene Street, and Northampton Street, with the lovely old garden of Merton Hall, at which he may peer through green rails; the glorious walk along Queens Road, at the bottom of the backs; at Newnham (besides the three modern seminaries) the Malting House which overlooks the mill-pool. But more important matters stand before, and to these let us now apply ourselves.

The first among them, in interest as well as chronology, is the Church of St. Benedict, or St. Bene't, as with the strictest propriety its familiars continue to call it. Its tower is the oldest surviving building, not merely in Cambridge but in the whole county round, including Ely and its Isle; it pretty certainly stood complete on the day, early in his reign as king, when William the Conqueror rode by it on his way to organize the defeat of Hereward. Æsthetically the most pleasing view of it is obtained from the altar steps in the chancel; but the characteristics upon which experts definitely assign it to Saxon times are best studied from the churchyard and street. They are: first, the structure of the quoins, or masonary at the angles, which consist of oblong stones laid with the long side alternately vertical and horizontal—a pattern which is known as "long and short work" and was only used in the hundred years or so preceding the Norman Conquest; second, the tapering effect caused by making each of the two upper stages of the tower slightly narrower than the one below it. This is less conclusive, since the tower of St. Edward's, to which we shall proceed shortly, shows the same feature and is about a hundred years younger.

The ground plan of St. Benet's nave and chancel still reproduce the exact dimensions of the complete Saxon church, but the nave was rebuilt in the late thirteenth century and the chancel in 1872, so that beyond the tower scarcely a trace of the original building remains. The old sedilia and piscina in the chancel are still preserved, but they are fourteenth-century work. The building on the south side of the chancel was added about 1500, and consists of two

super-imposed chapels and a gallery connecting them with Corpus Christi College. Here we are confronted in the concrete by one side of the Church's long associations with the academic life of the town. For nearly three centuries it served as the Chapel of Corpus Christi College, the patrons of the living to this day. And even earlier than the foundation of this ancient House the bell of St. Benet's, we are informed, used to summon the clerks in the whole University to lectures and exercises.

On the other side of Corpus Christi College from St. Benet's Church and facing the junction of Trumpington Street and Silver Street, stand the church and churchyard dedicated to the blessed Botulf, the Fenland saint. It will be noticed that, before the King's Ditch was covered in, they would adjoin the Trumpington Gate and so occupy a most appropriate site for the patron of wayfarers.

The oldest portions of St. Botolph's Church are the nave and the aisles, built about 1320. In the fifteenth century the comically lumbering tower was reared, the aisle-windows were altered to the perpendicular style then in vogue, and the chapel and porch on the south side added. The chancel with its vestries was entirely rebuilt in 1872.

The most interesting feature of the edifice is the little south chapel, slightly raised above the level of nave and aisles. It is furnished with some antique desks and (since the rebuilding of the chancel, where it hung aforetime) it harbours a most florid Latin epitaph to Thomas Plaifere, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, who died in 1609. Thomas Fuller, in his delicious *History of the University of Cambridge since the Conquest* (1655), said prophetically of it:

" Should this *Epitaph* come under the hands of those *Grecian Officers*, deputed to proportion mens *Monuments* to their *merits*, it is suspitious they would make bold, *to pare parts* thereof, though indeed the *Doctor* was one of excellent parts, and a great commander of the *Latine Tongue* ".

In the body of the church itself the ornaments to note are : the fine wooden doors, the roofs and the font, probably all contemporary with the nave and aisles. The ornate Renaissance cover and case of the font, dating from 1637, are perhaps unique of their kind.

St. Botolph's Church, if it chose, could also boast of two other uncommon features. It has, first, a peal of four bells, intact since their installation in 1460 or thereabout ; there are only three other bell-towers in all England furnished with rings of four pre-Reformation bells, and only one—that of St. Bartholomew the Great in London—with more than four. And, second, it can refer to a parish history, *A Little History of St. Botolph's, Cambridge*, by Mr. A. W. Goodman, which should serve as a model for any who would undertake a similar serviceable and entertaining enterprise.

Queens' College are patrons of St. Botolph's, and the rector used, by virtue of his office, to claim rooms in College.

Still proceeding along Trumpington Street away from the centre of the town we come upon the Church of St. Mary the Less, the second religious building on the right-hand side of the road. Like St. Benet's, this church served for several hundreds of years as chapel to the adjacent college—here the College of St. Peter, or Peterhouse, which indeed

derived its name therefrom; since its earliest style was "the Church of St. Peter without Trumpington Gate". Internally, except in its seating arrangements, it closely resembles to this day the ordinary college chapel, having no side-aisles, no side chapels, and no structural division between nave and chancel. All except the vestry and porch (of 1893) goes back to 1350, and tradition associates Alan de Walsingham, designer of the lantern in Ely Cathedral, with its execution. It was at the time of the fourteenth-century reconstruction that Little St. Mary's took its present name. The upper part of the connecting gallery with the College was added one hundred years after the rest. To Americans the church offers a peculiar interest as containing, just to the left of the entrance, the tomb and funeral monument of the Reverend Godfrey Washington (1670–1729), Fellow and Bursar of Peterhouse, a distant cousin of George Washington, whose arms display, in a rudimentary form, that crest and those stars and stripes which the great republic took over from its founder and uses for its national emblems. The official description in heraldic terms of Godfrey Washington's arms may be worth record; it runs: "Barry of four in chief three mullets. The crest: a demi-eagle issuing out of a coronet". In the beautifully kept churchyard lies Charles Isola, Esquire-Bedell of the University, chiefly remembered through his daughter, Emma Isola, the little orphan-girl whom Charles and Mary Lamb adopted.

The two churches last discussed lie to the south of St. Benet's; two others of equal interest lie about equidistant on the opposite side. They are St. Edward the Martyr and St. Mary the Great.

The Church of St. Edward, King and Martyr, stands at the bifurcation of a footpath running out of King's Parade and called St. Edward's Passage. It commemorates the Saxon king whose claims to rank as a martyr rest on nothing more substantial than a violent death in early youth and who has already been mentioned as founder of the local mint. The existing tower of his fane was probably begun in the latter half of the twelfth century, but the present chancel and the nave with its aisles resulted from a rebuilding of the early structure *circa* 1400. The two chancel aisles have as unusual a history as they look strange in the ground plan or from Peas Hill. They were built in 1450 or thereabouts by Clare Hall (the southern aisle) and Trinity Hall (the other), when their parish church of St. John Zachary was levelled with the rest of the site required by Henry VI for the building of King's College.

St. Edward's Church has long enjoyed a great name for its preachers. At the time when church reformation was "in the air" luminaries on both sides spoke from its pulpit, notably Hugh Latimer of Clare College, who in 1529 delivered there his two celebrated "Sermons on the Card", so called because he drove home his argument by a long-sustained analogy with some fashionable predecessor to auction bridge. In 1870 Trinity Hall courageously nominated to its perpetual curacy Frederick Denison Maurice, who held it up to the date of his death, in 1872. This fine tradition obtains to this day and the church's limited accommodation is severely strained on most Sunday mornings during Full Term, when one of the most distinguished preachers con-

nected with the town or University, either layman or cleric, is engaged to discourse.

Naturally enough, the fame of St. Edward's as a preaching church is eclipsed by Great St. Mary's, since the University sermons (on Sundays during Term at 2.30) are delivered here. Invitations to that pulpit, however, only reach the clergy of the Church of England, and most of the preachers are prelates and otherwise favoured children of the establishment. Four of their sermons per annum, delivered in November and January, are rather lengthier and more ambitious in character than the rest, and go by the style of the Hulsean Lectures. They owe their origin to the benefaction of the Rev. John Hulse, who died in 1790, during the vexatious era of Voltaire and Gibbon, and, among other things, endowed "a learned and ingenious person" to answer all novel objections to Christianity, ordaining "such his written answers to be in English, and only against notorious infidels, whether Atheists or Deists, not descending to any particular controversies or sects among Christians themselves, except some new or dangerous error, either of superstition or enthusiasm, as of Popery or Methodism, either in opinion or practice, shall prevail". Alas for the Reverend John Hulse! His proud "Christian Advocate", whose functions were prescribed in these terms, has been turned into a mere Professor of Divinity, and the lectures for which he provided reduced to one-third the intended number.

To the University sermon and Hulsean Lectures the Vice-Chancellor usually comes, and comes in state; that is to say, preceded by the two Esquire-Bedells of the University shouldering their maces of

office. The strange wrought-iron contrivance before the front pew on the left side of the nave is designed to receive these emblems of dignity. Behind the Vice-Chancellor walk the Doctors of Divinity and other Doctors, then Professors who are not Doctors, and lastly the two Proctors, accompanied by their servants in capes with twinkling brass buttons. M.A.'s occupy the nave—the more evangelical standing up to pray—and other members of the University, all duly gowned, the galleries. The common herd must content themselves with the side-aisles.

The primary use to which Great St. Mary's Church is put, that of preaching, may be distinguished by some of the architectural peculiarities: the deep galleries, for instance, which were installed in 1739 to accommodate listeners to pulpit oratory. Before that time the large floor-space had sometimes proved insufficient, and when Thomas Cartwright, the great Puritan divine of Elizabeth's reign, held forth, a window used to be taken out, so that the "overflow meeting" outside might also profit by the edification of his word.

The church by no means, however, serves exclusively as the *locale* of University sermons. It is a parish church at the same time, and used in this capacity more continuously than for ministering to the University. Its dual function may be descried in the two organs, that in the chancel meeting parochial, that in the tower academic needs. The pulpit, moreover, runs—if so lightsome a verb be permissible—on rails, and when the church is a parish church it stands modestly aside to the north of the chancel arch; but when the building becomes

GREAT ST. MARY'S FROM MARKET HILL

the University church, it trundles majestically into the centre of the scene.

Great St. Mary's—or St. Mary's-by-the-Market, as it was originally called—was built for the most part between 1478 and 1518 to replace a fourteenth-century structure. Its tower was finished in 1608. The handsomest and most interesting items about it are the fine roofs, the monument to Dr. William Butler of Clare College (died 1617) recently placed high up on the north chancel wall, and the world-famed chimes. These were composed about 1790 by Dr. Jowett, Fellow of Trinity Hall—the traces of whose activity will confront us again later—in collaboration with Dr. Crotch, the musician. Their theme was suggested to Dr. Jowett by the opening symphony of Händel's *I Know That My Redeemer Liveth.* Händel, by the way, like Rubens, Edward VII, the "Boy Roscius", and other unlikely people, was a member of the University. In this connexion one may note that the clamorous tolling of a great bell between 9 and 9.15 every evening emanates from Great St. Mary's belfry; it has not the sinister import of the hundred and one strokes of Big Tom at Oxford, since the Cambridge Colleges close their gates at 10 and not at 9.5 p.m.

A third great preaching church is Holy Trinity, at the corner of Market Street and Sidney Street, a very plain and ill-proportioned building, dating mostly from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Lectureships, attached to this pulpit and supported by public subscriptions among the townsfolk, were founded in the sixteenth century, and since that date it has been one of the prime disseminators of puritan and evangelical divinity. Much of its fame

attaches to the memory of Charles Simeon (1759–1836), one of the champions of the Low Church revival at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Simeon, a Fellow of King's, was presented to the living in 1782, and eight years later instituted evening lectures in his church, thereby arousing great indignation in a generation vigilantly on its guard against religious "enthusiasm". "At first, and indeed for many years", Simeon himself reports, "the keeping order in my church was attended with considerable difficulty. The novelty of evening services in a parish church at Cambridge attracted some attention. In the college chapel it was no novelty; but in a parish church it conveyed at once the impression that it must be established for the advancement of true religion, or what the world would call Methodism. Hence it is not to be wondered at that it should be regarded with jealousy by some, and with contempt by others, and the young gownsmen, who even in their own chapels [since attendance was then compulsory] showed little more reverence for God than they would in a play-house, should often enter to disturb our worship."

Simeon's patience and oratory wore down apathetic and bellicose opposition, and the magnitude of his influence may be gauged by the small headway which the "Oxford Movement" made in the sister university. That Simeon's ministrations were not uniformly beneficent may be gleaned from Samuel Butler's caustic description in *The Way of All Flesh* of his disciples, the "Sims", in the fifties of the nineteenth century. The missionary Henry Martyn, who gives his name to the adjacent Memorial Hall, acted as one of Simeon's curates in 1803 and 1804.

There remains only one more town church worthy of fuller consideration—the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and St. Andrew, standing about quarter of a mile north-west of Holy Trinity at the junction of the two principal thoroughfares. Its familiar appellation, "The Round Church", sufficiently indicates its main peculiarity; it is one of only four churches in this country distinguished by a circular nave, the other three being St. Sepulchre's at Northampton, the Temple Church in London, and the church of Little Maplestead, Essex. The Cambridge edifice, it may be said at once, has no connexion at all with the Order of Templars.

What the Round Church, built *circa* 1120–40, still looked like less than a century ago, appears from the prints hung up in the windows of most local second-hand dealers. But in 1841 the Cambridge Camden Society proceeded to restore it. The results of their holy fury had best be set forth in the cold technical terms which mask the righteous anger of Mr. T. D. Atkinson, the *doyen* of writers on Cambridge architecture:

"The polygonal upper story of the circular nave, containing four bells, was destroyed; sham Norman windows, copied from one remaining old one, replaced those which had been inserted in the fifteenth century; and new stone vaults and high-pitched roofs were constructed over the nave and ambulatory. The chancel, with the exception of one arch, and the wall above it was entirely rebuilt; the north aisle, with the exception of the entrance arch from the west, was rebuilt and extended eastwards to the same length as the chancel; a new south aisle of equal dimensions with the enlarged north aisle was added;

and a small turret for two bells was built at the north-west corner of the north aisle; the lower stage of this turret was considered a sufficient substitute for the destroyed vestry.[1] A new chancel arch . . . of less width than the old one was built, and a pierced stone screen was formed above it. In addition to all this, those old parts which were not destroyed were 'repaired and beautified', or 'dressed and painted', or 'thoroughly restored'. What these processes involved is clear from an inspection of the parts to which they were applied; in the west doorway, for instance, there is not one old stone left." So, though you may find "quaint bits" and Norman arches and old stones in plenty, the ancient Church of the Holy Sepulchre is not what it pretends to be.

The other old parish churches of Cambridge—St. Michael's opposite Caius College (early fourteenth century, with a collegiate choir), and St. Clement's, possibly a Danish foundation, near the Great Bridge (twelfth to nineteenth centuries)—have nothing but their modified antiquity to commend them, the remaining tabernacles of the establishment and those of the other sects not even that.

For the rest, the town of Cambridge (as distinct from the University and the Colleges) has little of architectural or historical interest to show. The eighteenth-century foundation of Addenbrooke's Hospital, standing back from Trumpington Street, the Guildhall on Market Hill (1747–1895, covering the site of a Town Hall of 1386), and the Corn Exchange behind it (1875), are monuments of unrelieved

[1] "A new vestry was built in 1893."

hideousness. The County Hall in Hobson Street, opened in 1913, is more ambitious and comely; it demeans itself more modestly withal—to be exact, its position renders it virtually invisible.

Here and there, on Peas Hill and in Guildhall Street, in Bridge Street, Emmanuel Street, and Trumpington Street, and, as stated above, in a few more odd places on the other bank, some cottages going back to the eighteenth century or even earlier survive, but they are few, rickety, and fast disappearing under the rough hands of those who shed plenty of crocodiles' tears over the vandalism of the unrighteous generations preceding theirs. The magnitude of their efforts may be gauged in a study of those excellent photographs of "Cambridge Sixty Years Ago", which the firm of Palmer Clarke exhibits in its showcase at the corner of St. Andrew's Street and Post Office Terrace, hard by St. Andrew's Church. The *Town* nowadays has few advantages over any other shopping centre and railway junction in a large, prosperous rural area, galvanized out of its six-day lethargy into racy, rather rude but authentic life, on the weekly market-day. When all's said and done, the good folk that throng the market-place and its approaches on Saturday, their speech and their manners, remain the most picturesque thing in Cambridge Town.

V

THE UNIVERSITY: ORIGIN AND ORGANIZATION

IN days not long gone by, when earnest visitors from Germany or Scandinavia found themselves at the cab-rank outside Cambridge railway-station and demanded conveyance to "the University", Jehu would accept their persons and, very reasonably, deposit them before one of two things: the University Arms, most comfortable of Cambridge hotels, or the Gothic front of the University Press. Dismay and polyglot argument would ensue, the tourists clamouring to be shown something like the squalid cube in which the academic life of Heidelberg centres, the driver of the "fly" truthfully protesting ignorance of any but these two localities associated with the term "University"—unless it might be the University Library, which, however, since it enjoys no facilities for carriage approach, might very naturally have remained unknown to him. Whether his successor, the taximan, whose intelligence is exercised by perpetual multiplication with factors of 4½d., ever finds himself in a similar quandary, this deponent knoweth not. Since the fairly recent growth of institutes and other buildings specifically belonging to the University, there is certainly less excuse for

completely disregarding it than could formerly be justified, but the facts remain to this day that there exists no single building which is or could be called "the" University, and that most people who devote the ordinary stay to exploring the academic haunts of Cambridge never once go into any building under the jurisdiction of University officers; their interests concentrate exclusively on the architecture and the life of the Colleges, which are, by law and common sense alike, Colleges *in* the University.

It appears somewhat necessary, then, at the outset of any consideration of the academic life at Cambridge, with the places where it is led, to determine the functions and inter-relation of these corporations, the Colleges and the University. Perhaps the easiest way of doing this will be to indicate the manner in which these functions and this relation came into existence.

Universities throughout the world fall into one of two classes—those originating in corporations of students and those originating in corporations of teachers. To the former, smaller and virtually dispossessed family belong the great Italian Universities, with Bologna and Padua at their head, and some universities in the South of France. Of the other kind was the University of Paris, the greatest of all universities in the Middle Ages; and the prestige of Paris spread its constitution and character of a teachers' University to all young foundations of a similar sort in Teutonic Europe and to many in Latin Europe as well. Oxford modelled itself on Paris, and Cambridge exhibits a parallel history of development with Oxford which is probably not fortuitous.

A customary form of addressing a corporation, whatever its character, in mediaeval Latin, began "Universitas vestra", which may be inelegantly translated by "the whole lot of you"; and it is only by sheer chance that the term "University" has survived to denote an academic body and none other—first the human nucleus in an institution devoted to the preservation and extension of human learning in all its branches, then the institution itself with its human nucleus. The term has nothing whatever to do, in its origin, with any "universality" of subjects studied and taught.

The earlier expression for what we now mean by "University" was "Studium generale", recognized as a degree-conferring body by explicit papal charter or by prescription, the former sometimes supplementing the latter. Thus Cambridge, though it could then look back upon a flourishing history of a hundred years or more, was proclaimed a *studium generale* in a bull of Pope John XXII, dated 1318, while the status of Oxford never received such formal recognition.

When a corporation of teachers established itself, when a *studium* first started in Cambridge, is unknown and will almost certainly remain so. Stories of foundation by the Spanish King Cantaber in the year of the world 3588 (or a trifle later), what time Gurguntius Brabtruc reigned King of Britain, and of charters and bulls by King Arthur and Edward the Elder, by Honorius I (A.D. 624) and Sergius I, though in part ratified by a fifteenth-century pope, no longer engage credence. But plenty of better evidence goes to show what has just been said, namely, that by the time of the bull of 1318 the *studium* in Cam-

bridge had waxed comparatively old and flourishing. We know with as much definiteness as we know anything of these remote times that for a long time past "clerks", *i.e.* learned men in orders of some degree, had congregated in the East Anglian town.

The cardinal date to take as a starting-point again falls in the reign of John, during which, under date 1209, Mathew Paris, the monk of St. Albans, reports a migration to Cambridge of scholars from Oxford, which quarrels with the townsfolk had rendered an uncomfortable abiding-place. Whether in this removal we are to see the first inception of Cambridge University, which would accordingly be reckoned a scion of Oxford as Oxford is of Paris, or whether, as seems rather more likely, the seceding clerks pitched on Cambridge rather than any other town closer at hand because facilities such as they wanted already existed there, remains another open question. Nor can we now precisely determine the nature of these facilities which they either found or themselves created.

At first, it is tolerably clear, every "clerk" in Cambridge, whether teacher or taught, fended for himself; the Doctors or Masters of the academic gild lectured each in his own private lecture-room, and not till 1278 did the University as such contemplate buildings of its own and acquire land for them. The students, like their instructors, were, according to a histrionic Recorder of King James I's day, "lovinglie lodged in the houses of Citizens", though studiously inclined inmates of religious houses must be excepted from this rule. Such general jurisdiction over the clerks as might be needed or

imposed would naturally lie in the hands of the diocesan, the Bishop of Ely.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century a beginning was made with the College system, now so distinctive of the older English Universities, but derived originally from Paris, where it is interesting to note that an Englishman introduced it. Of the particulars of this introduction I shall come to speak in describing the pioneer institution in Cambridge—Peterhouse, the origins of which go back to 1280.

In the beginning a college had no buildings constructed expressly for its use, but inhabited ordinary dwelling-houses purchased for it by its benefactor. Like the University, it was primarily not a place, but a body of persons living together and endowed so as to complete the costly enterprise of education without further expense. The head of these early colleges was a man appointed by the founder or his executor; the members were indigent and what we should call "advanced students". They received most of their instruction outside the college buildings, as before; it was expressly provided that they should not belong to any religious order of monks or friars. The regulars who attended the lectures of members of the University continued to inhabit their own convents, or were accommodated in buildings provided at the charges of more distant monasteries, as we shall see when we come to look at Magdalene College. The successful teacher, the wealthier advanced student, and the person who corresponded to the ordinary undergraduate of the present day, either had lodgings, in the old-fashioned way, in townsmen's houses; or else they clubbed together to hire a dwelling which, under a Principal appointed

by themselves, they ran on communal lines and called a Hostel.

Throughout the Middle Ages the home-like Hostels continued far more numerous than the austerer Colleges. Under the early Tudors, however, all the latter began as a matter of course to receive within their walls students who were not supported by the endowments of the House, but who paid for everything they received. Such paying inmates were, and are, called Pensioners. At the same time a clear distinction was made between the younger men maintained by the foundation, the Scholars fresh from school, and the older men or Fellows, who were now apt, as instructors to their juniors, to remain resident in College much longer than their predecessors of the thirteenth century did or than the first founders had ever contemplated. All these things together cut the ground from beneath the Hostels' feet ; the Fellows, who made the Colleges their permanent home, saw to it that they were as comfortable as the Hostels ; and they provided facilities in preparing their junior members for University degrees with which the Hostels could not compete. The Colleges still further increased in number, magnificence, and size, and the Hostels correspondingly dwindled.

This process by which the Colleges became supreme in the University was completed in the reign of Elizabeth, and for two hundred and fifty years after that every member of the University had also to be a member of a College—in much the same way as every citizen of the German "Reich" is also a subject of one of its constituent States. That arrangement practically subsists at this day, despite the

efforts of Royal Commissions during last century; the new private Hostels on which the Commissioners bestowed their blessing have all declined, except for a few denominational institutions (*e.g.* Ridley Hall, St. Edmund's House), whose members generally hold degrees, have a collegiate life of their own, and often belong to regular Colleges as well; and the body of non-collegiate students not attached even to Hostels, also brought into being by the Commission, has, willy-nilly, formed Fitzwilliam House, which offers such facilities characteristic of the college system to its members as systematic direction of studies, athletic clubs, communal meals, and a local focus. Call Fitzwilliam House and the large Public Hostel of Selwyn Colleges, which according to modern conceptions they virtually are, in all but name and an enviable freedom from University taxation, and you may safely say that every undergraduate at Cambridge and all but a handful of graduates are still at the same time members of a College.

In what now do the separate functions of University and College consist?

At first the University was essentially a degree-conferring gild of teachers. After tests of fitness satisfactorily passed, it invested applicants in the dignity of Master or Doctor, and such a title, conferred by an acknowledged *studium generale*, carried with it the privilege *ubique docendi*, of teaching at any University in Christendom. The preparation for the tests imposed by the University partly lay in the care of free-lance lecturers (who were, of course, Masters and members of the local gild), and was partly undertaken by officials within the Colleges, but never by nominees of the University. The

Master of Glomery, who seems to form something of an exception to this rule, will be considered in the course of the next chapter.

In the sixteenth century began the foundation of Professorships, endowed teaching posts attached to the University, the ministrations of which were gratuitously available to all. But for centuries after the University had set its tentative foot into the alien realm of instruction, the granting of degrees still continued its prime concern, indeed almost its sole concern. Professors there were, to be sure—but not many of them; they lectured too as seldom as lawfully possible, and did not aim at large auditories. That happy state of affairs might have subsisted until to-day, if it had not been for the great increase in subjects considered fit for recognition by a University degree, and, in particular, for the extraordinary development of the natural sciences. When it became impossible for each College, as heretofore, to provide all the teaching its junior inmates demanded, some complete system of interchange and co-ordination between the teaching staffs of the several Colleges might well have been set up—in default of the undesirable expedient of assigning particular subjects to particular Colleges, which has never found much favour in the great English Universities. But the financial resources of the Colleges, slight in comparison with the heavy calls upon them, and not amenable to large-scale financial co-operation, were quite inadequate to the large outlay in buildings and other equipment which the experimental sciences required. Accordingly, about the middle of the nineteenth century, when it had become the fashion to consider the German idea of a University as alone

desirable, the University began to extend its activities as a teacher, and to provide gradually all the instruction and facilities for practical work in subjects which need a laboratory for their successful prosecution; at the same time, so as not to incur the awful slur of narrow-mindedness, it increased the number of its professorships and minor lectureships in other subjects as well, and began to divide with the Colleges the preparation of students in the humanities and mathematics. The process is not yet complete. A Royal Commission which has recently reported, and a Statutory Commission, at present functioning, propose to give the lion's share of all instruction to the University, and to depress the Colleges to an ancillary position in the domain where once they reigned supreme.

At present, however, the Colleges still retain, on an average, the larger share of their important office, which they exercise through College Lecturers and through Directors of Studies appointed in all subjects which a student may wish to "read" (as the expression still goes) and to which no College Lectureship may be assigned. In out-of-the-way subjects a College often has to find its Directors of Studies elsewhere than among its own members, and a College Lecturer of one College quite frequently acts as Director of Studies for others. Through the Tutors, to one of whom every junior member is assigned, the Colleges exercise also a control over, and undertake responsibility for, the morals and finances of Bachelors of Arts and undergraduates, most of whom, it must be remembered, are legally infants. The Tutors—to whom, at Fitzwilliam House, the Censor of Non-Collegiate Students corresponds—make, further,

arrangements for the lodging of their pupils; for very many of them, on account of the great increase in numbers during recent years, cannot be accommodated in the College buildings at any period during their University career, or can dwell in them for part of their time only. (There were 3,263 undergraduates in residence in 1913, 4,137 in 1919, 4,789 in 1920, and 4,356 in the Michaelmas Term of 1925.) Lastly, the Colleges in rotation nominate to a few University offices, such as that of Proctor, about which I shall find more to say a page or two further on; and the Vice-Chancellor is appointed from among their Heads.

The executive department of a College then consists of a Head, of Tutors, and Lecturers. The Head of a House at Cambridge is always styled Master, except at Queens' and King's Colleges, whose Principals go by the title of President and Provost respectively. The Tutors always, the College Lecturers generally, and Directors of Studies sometimes, are Fellows of the College, sharing equally in the corporate revenues of the College, which are supervised by the Bursar, himself a Fellow. Other College officers are: the Dean, who has charge of the religious welfare of the College, and occasionally of its disciplinary arrangements as well; the Praelector, or Father of the College, who presents undergraduates and Bachelors of Arts to the Vice-Chancellor and Senate for degrees; and the Steward, who has under his surveillance the provisions and the servants of the College and the interaction between them. All these dignitaries are Fellows. A Fellow of a College must have the degree of Master of Arts at least, or, if he be still too young to proceed to that

degree, he must do so as soon as he legally may. Fellowships are filled by election of the existing body of Master and Fellows in each College, and are given only to men highly distinguished in original research or in examination. Their number in each College is limited, and determined by statute. Unless the holder of them is engaged in academic teaching, or in research of exceptional importance, or has retired after twenty to thirty years of these pursuits, his tenure does not exceed as a rule six years. All resident Fellows of Colleges and all other graduate members of the University engaged in the academic life of Cambridge as lecturers, directors of studies or demonstrators, and all University officers—who, though frequently, are not necessarily, Fellows of Colleges—are known collectively as " dons ".

The Scholars of the Colleges are junior members, undergraduates and Bachelors of Arts, who, by virtue of their excellence in College or University Examinations, are entitled to a certain fixed portion of the Scholarship Fund, the first charge on the corporate revenues of the College. They are not distinguished from other students either in dress, or in the place which they occupy in Hall, Chapel, and Lecture Room. But they are " on the foundation ". In fact they, with the Master and Fellows, *are* the College—the Master and Fellows being the " governing body " of the College.

To return now to the University, the two functions which it has already been mentioned as exercising need a little fuller comment. First and foremost, then, it confers degrees, a privilege never claimed by the Colleges. The basic degree of all is the B.A., the Bachelor of Arts degree, for which normally all

gownsmen in Cambridge have worked, are working, or are supposed to be working. To obtain it, a residence within two miles of Great St. Mary's Church is required for not less than nine full terms (*i.e.* three academical years),[1] and the successful passing of two sets of intellectual tests. The earlier of them is the Previous Examination, commonly called "Little-Go", which every student now has to pass before coming into residence, unless exempted by virtue of appearing in the pass list of some equivalent and officially approved school-leaving examination. The later tests are of two degrees of severity, leading up to an Honours Degree and a Pass or Poll Degree respectively, the former going by the name of Triposes, the latter of Examinations for the Pass Degree. The word "Poll" derives from the Greek *οἱ πολλοί* = the many, "Tripos" from the three-legged stool provided for the accommodation of candidates for degrees when they were tested by disputation. The examinations now all take the form of written "papers", oral examination supplementing the Modern Language papers, while there are practical and oral tests in the Science examinations. The simple letters B.A. adorn the poll-man as well as the Honours man.

The Bachelorships in Music, Laws, and Surgery (Mus.B., LL.B., and B.Chir.) are obtained, *mutatis mutandis*, as are Bachelorships of Arts and almost invariably by persons already holding the degree of

[1] Terms are "kept" by spending part of three-quarters of the total days (and nights) of each such term in Cambridge. In every legal term one consecutive part, consisting of the minimum number of days necessary for "keeping" it, is specially marked off for lectures and the like and is called "Full Term".

B.A. For the Bachelorship of Medicine (M.B.) the same tests as for B.Chir. are prescribed, but the candidate has to offer an original—and approved—"thesis" as well.

The M.A. (Master of Arts) degree is conferred without further examination on any B.A. who after a prescribed lapse of time (generally ten terms) may apply for it with a small fee. A similar course is followed by Bachelors of Surgery for obtaining the Mastership in Surgery (M.Chir.). Masters of Laws and Music must have the lower degrees in their subjects or faculties, and pass some additional test as well.

All the Doctorates, the Masterships in Science and Letters, and the Bachelorship of Divinity are bestowed on members of the University as the reward of approved "theses"—that is to say, of original contributions to learning. Every Master and Doctor, after the lapse of some days or weeks, becomes also a Member of the Senate, the legislature of the University.[1]

In addition to degrees acquired by tests of the kind indicated, certain degrees prompted *honoris causa*—Honorary Degrees—are given to persons, not necessarily members of the University or of any learned profession, on account of their attainments and position in their course of life—Bishops, for instance, Admirals, great composers and politicians. But these are few in number.

The executive officer, who, among his other duties, admits to degrees is the Chancellor, the Head of the

[1] This is a summary view of a series of complicated and ever-altering enactments. Further information can be obtained, if required, from the official *Student's Handbook to Cambridge*.

University, or, in his customary absence, the Vice-Chancellor. The Chancellor was originally the nominee of the local Bishop, but quite early in the history of the University was elected by the University, taking after appointment an oath of allegiance to the Bishop, who had to recognize him. By the Barnwell Process of 1430, as we have seen, the Bishop was finally dispossessed of his last claim to jurisdiction in the University; and so were all other ecclesiastical authorities short of the Pope. Nowadays the Chancellor is elected by the Senate for life from among persons of power and eminence in the State who were bred in the University and have preserved an interest in its welfare. The routine of the mediaeval Chancellor is performed by the modern Vice-Chancellor, who more nearly corresponds to him; he holds office usually for two years, is elected annually by the resident members of the Senate from among the Heads of Houses, and represents the Chancellor in all things. He is *ex-officio* chairman of nearly all the committees (called Syndicates and Boards), in whom the executive and advisory powers of the University are vested; he forms the channel through whom all major communications between the University and other corporations, like the State, as well as individuals flow. Few men in the length and breadth of the realm are worked harder.

The second, and secondary, function of the University to-day is to impart instruction and even education; and it exercises it through persons called Professors, Readers, University Lecturers, and Demonstrators.

Professors are appointed, generally for life, by the Crown or panels of electors, and receive their

emoluments from endowments specifically attached to their posts or "chairs". Readers, University Lecturers, and Demonstrators are nominated, for a fixed term of years, by a committee of the Senate, the General Board of Studies; they are paid partly by lecture fees, which fluctuate with the number of listeners they are able to attract, partly by a fixed stipend charged to the corporate revenue of the University, which accrues from benefactions, from the taxation of undergraduates and Colleges, and from fees payable for examinations and degrees. In the laboratories belonging to the University, over each of which the appropriate Professor presides, his senior lieutenants are appointed as indicated above; the junior Demonstrators are appointed by the Professor himself and do not rank as University functionaries.

Besides its educative functions and the right of conferring degrees, the University disposes also of disciplinary powers and of a jurisdiction which it exercises over its own members and, in very small degree, over others as well. These may be referred for their origin to the somewhat privileged position of the clergy in the Middle Ages, when they formed so large and powerful a corporation within the corporation of the realm. As I have said, the jurisdiction over the clerks at Cambridge, as over the clerks everywhere else in his diocese, lay at first with the Bishop. He delegated this part of his office to his Chancellor, and the history of the jurisdiction is bound up with the development of the Chancellor's office, just sketched.

But the officers who loom most eminently in public eye as embodiments of academic law are the two

Proctors. The original duties of the Proctors, whom we read of as "Rectors" in the thirteenth century, already corresponded somewhat to those of a Tribune of the People; they watched the interest of the University, the gild of teachers or "regents" by whom they were annually elected, even against the Chancellor whom at that date an outside authority imposed on it. In the absence or unwillingness of the Chancellor or his official Deputy they sometimes acted as supreme executive, but their power and dignity have never been so great at Cambridge as at Oxford. They constituted also a rallying-point for the University in its disputes with the townsmen, and this part of their functions became the more prominent when the Chancellor and his deputy held office purely as University nominees. But it had, and has, its reverse side, the survival of which may account for what to many appears a mere anachronism.

The Proctor stood for the rights of members of the University; among other things he abstracted them, when they were accused of minor offences, from the local magistrature. Such a privilege would have been intolerable if he had not himself inquired, or caused inquiry, into the irregularities complained of. In this way he appeared both as the champion and persecutor of his flock, and his activities still retain this double aspect. It may be observed at high festivals like the 5th of November, when the police will seize a townsman in the act of committing some peccadillo, but will apparently shut their eyes to the identical behaviour of a gownsman. They calculate, however, that the Proctor will pounce on him and usually they calculate accurately. And on the

morrow the magistrates will fine the townsman perhaps 5s. for committing a "disorderly act", while the undergraduate will be mulcted of 6s. 8d. by the Proctor, who gives him an uncomfortable five minutes, but spares him the indignity of answering for a triviality in the Police Court—a proceeding perhaps distasteful to those who believe newspapers to be the only proper tribunal in matters of behaviour, as well as of learning and the arts. With the co-operation of the Colleges, the Proctors may (and do) also procure the "rustication" of men, the sending of them away for a fixed term or *sine die*, for crimes generally unknown as such to the Criminal Law. On the other hand, the Proctors do not confer on their charges complete immunity from Police Court proceedings, as testifies the local paper with its daily register of undergraduates who have committed atrocities like riding bicycles without a lamp at night, leaving vehicles unattended in the public streets, and throwing lumps of sugar at the Borough Constabulary.

The two Proctors, who are nominated annually by the Colleges in rotation, are reinforced by Pro-Proctors and Deputies, most of whom either have been or are about to become full-blown Proctors. Any M.A. may be appointed a Deputy-Proctor in case of emergency, and may exercise certain proctorial powers (as sending unruly students to their rooms) without special mandate. The official Proctors and their deputies, in cap and gown, with Geneva bands under their chins, and, at either hand, a top-hatted Proctors' man or "bull-dog", perambulate the streets every night during Full Term in search of peccant undergraduates and Bachelors of Arts.

A much less conspicuous, but more important

University dignitary than either of the Proctors is the Registrary, who keeps all records, superintends the clerical work of University management, and edits its official publications. These at least are some of the items of his enormous task. After those mentioned, the most important University officers are the Librarian and the two Esquire-Bedells, Masters of Arts, who, armed with maces, attend upon the person of the Chancellor or his Vicegerent.

VI

THE UNIVERSITY: LIBRARY AND SENATE HOUSE

A SURVEY of the University property would begin well at that conglomerate of buildings to the north of King's College Chapel, now occupied by the University Library. At one time it served, in addition, the diverse purposes of Lecture Rooms, Chapel, College, Museum, Registry, and Senate House; but the Library has, in the end, elbowed all its competitors out of doors.

It was part of this site occupied by the Library that came to the University at a date already mentioned, 1278, when Nigel de Thornton, a Doctor of Medicine, gave it a strip of land on what was soon after called North School Street, a narrow lane running parallel with King's Parade behind the present Senate House. Nigel de Thornton's property was apparently the first which the University owned in its corporate capacity, and it must still be looked upon and venerated as the nucleus round which further possessions aggregated and from which colonies were dispersed to all parts of Cambridge.

The oldest part of the Library is the most difficult to examine from outside, though a little bit of its ancient north wall can be seen from Senate House

Passage, where the two classical façades leave a small gap. It seems to have been begun about 1359 and finished some forty years later. The lower story served as Divinity School, a name which, in the current nomenclature of the Library apartments, still clings to it, while the room above it, now the Catalogue Room, was Chapel, Chancery, and Senate House. To this, during the fifteenth century, were added buildings which with it formed a complete quadrangle, what is now called the East Court of the Library: first, by 1458, was built the School of Canon Law to the west, then the Schools of Civil Law and Philosophy on the south (the King's College Chapel side), put up 1457–70; and, last of all, a shallow range fronting North School Street—this, started upon the completion of the Civil Law and Philosophy Schools and soon finished, was the only range to be virtually destroyed at a later date.

Up to the beginning of the eighteenth century the University kept its books and manuscripts in the upper story of this last-built range and of the southern side of the quadrangle, and these rooms perfectly sufficed for its needs. But in the year 1715 the Library received the most important single benefaction it has hitherto enjoyed. It was the time of King George I's accession, and Tory Oxford had signalized the joyous event by some Jacobite demonstrations, which not only necessitated the dispatch of some cavalry to the University on the Isis, but evoked from its Whig counterpart an address to His Majesty assuring him of its zeal and attachment to his person and Government. The King thereupon acquired the valuable collection of the lately deceased Bishop of Ely, Dr. Moore, which consisted of about

30,000 printed books and manuscripts, and bestowed it upon the corporation which had testified to such devotion. The twin occurrence struck the following verses from the wits of an unknown Oxonian :—

> King George, observing with judicious eyes,
> The state of both his Universities,
> To Oxford sent a troop of horses ; and why ?
> That learned body wanted loyalty.
> To Cambridge books he sent, as well discerning
> How much that loyal body wanted learning.

The necessary retort, outdoing the challenger in pithiness at least, was written by Sir William Browne, who later most fittingly endowed University Prizes for Odes and Epigrams in the classical tongues :—

> The King to Oxford sent a troop of horse,
> For Tories own no argument but Force ;
> With equal skill to Cambridge books he sent,
> For Whigs admit no force but Argument.

To make room for the royal bounty, the present Catalogue Room and West Room were thrown into the Library and, in 1755–8, a deeper range of buildings, partly supported by a colonnade, was substituted for the old structure on the east side of the quadrangle. The architect was Stephen Wright, who endeavoured, but not with superlative success, to harmonize his elevation with the style of the new Senate House.

The next addition to the Library was part of the almost Cyclopean erection known, from its architect, as Cockerell's Building (1837–40). Its ground-floor contained the Woodwardian Museum of Geology, while the top was used as a further store for books.

Stephen Wright, as we shall see shortly, meant his façade and the building behind it to form part of a

THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY AND KING'S CHAPEL

greater scheme; so did Cockerell, but his imaginings were in every way more vast. To compass them he had, in constructing "Cockerell's Building", demolished part of the domestic buildings of King's College, which for nearly four hundred years had stood to the north of their chapel and not to the south, as they do now. He proposed to destroy all the rest and, what is more, the old (East) Library Court as well, so as to leave nothing of greater age than himself (except the Senate House) between Great St. Mary's and Trinity Hall Lane.[1] Popular outcry, however, and lack of funds frustrated the execution of Cockerell's great scheme, but not before he had done damage wellnigh irreparable to the old collegiate structure. Where his own new building stood, of course, nothing could be done to repair the destruction he had wrought, but what lay beyond it was restored in the old style (outwardly) by Scott (1864–8) and Pearson (1887–90), and straightway taken into the Library to form what is now called the West Court. In 1903 the Woodwardian Museum moved from Cockerell's Building to Downing Street, and the Library remained sole mistress in the whole complex of buildings.

The collection here housed, amounting to about one million printed volumes and over one hundred thousand maps and eight thousand manuscripts, takes rank as one of the supreme libraries of the world, surpassed in the British Isles only by the Library of the British Museum (with about five million books) and the Bodleian Library at Oxford. According to the provisions of successive Copyright Acts it has,

[1] A sketch of what he proposed hangs on the front staircase of the Library.

since 1842, been entitled to a free copy of every work published in the United Kingdom, and the number of accessions added in this way comes to more than forty thousand in a year. The remainder of fifteen thousand, among which foreign books of course have a majority, are purchased or presented.

Naturally enough such a collection has great interest for bibliophiles; but, unless they are members of the University, even they may not find it easy to satisfy their envy and curiosity, since a view of the Library can be obtained in only two ways: favour of a member of the Senate, who may personally pilot individuals or small parties about; or private introduction to one of the administrative staff, and these, though the most obliging men alive, are too hard-worked genuinely to welcome such "chits". Anyone lucky enough to gain admittance will, *ipso facto*, enjoy expert guidance, so it is necessary to touch only quite cursorily on the main items of interest; which are:—the written or printed rarities exposed in showcases down the centre of Cockerell's Building; the selected heap of one single week's additions on view in the Dome Room; the beautiful roofs and ceiling in many of the older ranges, notably the South Room (next to the Dome Room), which contains, moreover, some of the handsomest book-cases; the Catalogue, which inaugurated all over the world the "printed slip" system, the only one equal to the demands of a very large library; and the operation of the "open shelf" arrangement, by which every user of the library may, if he pleases, go and get his own books from their cases, and which has the great merit of frequently putting into his way works of interest which he never knew of.

The University Library is the only major library in which this invaluable system has been put into operation.

The pleasant piece of turf in front of the Library, with the paved paths round it, and, upon it, the handsome replica of an urn fished up from Hadrian's Villa at Tibur, is known as Senate House Yard. At the south-west corner of it, probably covering part of the ground where both the Library and King's College Chapel were later built, stood once an educational institution of the hoariest antiquity. It was called " Glomery Hall ", which signifies the School where was taught Glomery, which is Grammar—which is Latin. (This process of linguistic corruption is confirmed by the word " glamour ", which Sir Walter Scott is commonly credited with having introduced into English ; it means just " grammar "—the Latin jargon used in exorcism and on similarly " romantic " occasions.) As in the Middle Ages a knowledge of Latin was presupposed in every fully fledged University student—since instruction was given solely in that language—the " Glomerels " or learners of Latin were held in very small esteem, and the degree with which they satisfied themselves if they proceeded no further in their studies considered a lowly one. Their principal, the *Magister Glomeriæ*, however, for long the only official in the University whose duties were primarily educational, seems to have been a person of some consequence, even if his position was less like that of a professor than what we should now call a coach for " Little-Go ". The last person to hold the office was Sir John Cheke (1514–57), who later, it will be remembered, taught " *Cambridge*, and King *Edward* Greek ".

The "Act" for incepting in the Degree of Master in Grammar, with all its thoroughgoing mingling of the theoretical and practical, was so very curious that a sixteenth-century description should be quoted :—

"When mass is done [in Great St. Mary's], fyrst shall begynne the acte in Gramer. The Father [the *Magister Glomeriæ*] shall have hys sete made before the Stage for Physyke and shall syttle alofte under the stage for Physyke. The Proctour shall say, Incipiatis. When the Father hath argyude as shall plese the Proctour, the Bedyll in Arte shall bring the Master of Gramer to the Vyce-chancelar, delyveryng hym a Palmer [ferule] wyth a Rodde, whych the Vice-chancelar shall gyve to the seyde Master in Gramer, and so create hym Master. Then shall the Bedell purvay for every master in Gramer a shrewde Boy, whom the master in Gramer shall bete openlye in the Scolys, and the master in Gramer shall give the Boy a Grote for Hys Labour, and another Grote to hym that provydeth the Rode and the Palmer etc. de Singulis. And thus endythe the Acte in that Facultye."

It is time for us, however, to turn away from records of an institution of which every material trace has vanished, and whose very activities are in detail none too clear to us, to proceed to the study of a building which has nothing very suggestive of evanescence or "glamour" about it, the Senate House. The construction of this, one of the handsomest single buildings in Cambridge, was, as we have seen, rendered necessary by the expulsion of the Senate from the upper room in the old Divinity School, when accommodation had to be found for George I's donation.

The foundation-stone was laid in 1722 and the building inaugurated in 1730. The plans, based on a scheme by James Burrough, later Sir James and Master of Caius (whom we shall meet again), were elaborated by James Gibbs, the first architect of the land after the death of Sir Christopher Wren and the retirement of Vanbrugh; his best-known works are St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, and the Radcliffe Camera at Oxford.

Gibbs saw this Senate House of his merely as part of a larger plan—as the north wing, in fact, of an open quadrangle which would mask the old Schools and Library, but stand apart from them. Caius College, however, which has always shown itself a little pernickety about the hygienic amenities of Caius Court, objected, and Gibbs's rather severer scheme—of which a view is preserved—came to as little as the later plans of Wright, who also proposed to complete the work begun in Gibbs's Senate House and his own Library façade with a balancing building to the south, to accommodate Press and Registry. It is a pity that neither of these noble schemes, which would have made the academic core of Cambridge as dignified as it is delectable was ever executed.

The inside of the Senate House is remarkable for its florid but never frivolous plaster ceiling, perhaps the best example of English rococo in existence anywhere. The galleries are handsome in themselves and, together with the abundant woodwork elsewhere, confer great dignity on the whole. As a stimulus to orators at those dismal gatherings known as "Discussions of Reports", there stands at the farther end from the dais, also in an M.A. gown, the effigy of the younger Pitt, for which Nollekens got £3,000.

It is as unconvincing of greatness as every other memorial of that statesman. He is partnered in marble by the Duke of Somerset, who held the Chancellorship of the University not only when the Senate House was inaugurated, but all through the reigns of William and Mary, Anne and George I, and for a good twenty years of George II as well. Before Pitt joined him, His Grace had a consort in the shape of Academic Glory, a debonair lady with a good leg, remarkable for her attachment to a wreath and an obelisk. Incompatibility might have been foretold, a separation was effected, and Academic Glory symbolically declined to the level of an exhibit in a Museum, where we shall make her acquaintance.

The Senate House fulfils a variety of offices. As its name proclaims, it serves primarily as a meeting-place of the Senate—the whole body (that is to say) of resident and non-resident Masters and Doctors who for a *quid pro quo* have "kept their names on the books". The Senate acts as supreme legislative organ of the body academic, and all regulations of the University, which it has not expressly delegated to Committees, must receive its approval. A peculiarity of the procedure therein involved consists in the disability of the Senate either to debate or amend any "Grace" submitted to it. There *is* argumentation and alteration; but it takes place at another time and, not infrequently, in another place! For this is where the "Discussion of Reports", to which I have just alluded, comes in.

When the Council of the Senate, a committee chosen by the resident members and other officers of the University, or any other standing Board controlling finance or administration, or any specially

appointed Syndicate, wishes to draw attention to any defect or inadequacy in the machinery it has to supervise or examine and has any reforms to propose, it publishes a Report, containing several recommendations, which, to become operative, would need embodying in one or more "Graces". These Reports are scrutinized by a handful of M.A.'s, who, suitably habited, gather together for that purpose, and, if necessary, refer them back to the issuing body for further consideration and amendment. Then the Grace or Graces incorporating its final proposals are submitted to the Senate at a Congregation and, if need be, voted on.

As a natural corollary of this cumbrous arrangement, most law-giving in the University is "agreed" legislation, and a division or "scrutiny" in the Senate a comparative rarity. On only a small fraction of these rare occasions again do residents consider the issue sufficiently grave to invoke the views of the "backwoods-men", the M.A.'s *not* in residence. But when they do, much excitement ensues. Caucuses inside and outside Colleges give spreads and arrange for a service of motor-cars to and from the railway-station, and in smoking-carriages and College Combination Rooms there is much bitter raillery and prophesying among people who should know better.

Besides these legislative jamborees, the Senate House is not infrequently turned into an Examination Hall, and, more rarely, into an avowed Place of Entertainment. Here it was, for instance, that the University in 1847 gave a concert to Queen Victoria the night before the installation of the Prince Consort as Chancellor, when the *Wunderkind* Joachim, on

the first of many visits to Cambridge, felt so bitterly the necessity of doing his duty with his fiddle while everybody else was looking at the fireworks outside. The next day, at the actual installation ceremony, an Ode specially written by Wordsworth and "composed" by T. A. Walmisley, the Professor of Music, was rendered with a magnificence that cost the University over £700. Here, too, was performed that greater Installation Ode with which Gray in 1769 welcomed the Duke of Grafton.

The most spectacular events (apart from rarities like installations and concerts to Royalty) that take place in the Senate House, and which prove it the real focus of the University, are the conferment of Degrees. Something of the kind may be witnessed at almost every one of the fortnightly Congregations or meetings of the Senate.[1] But the most crowded and picturesque functions of this nature are, on the one hand, the conferment of Honorary Degrees, and, on the other, the "Days of General Admission"—of which there are three per annum: one a week or so before Christmas; the other two on the Saturday and Tuesday following upon the publication of the results of the May Term examinations—round about Midsummer Day.

Sometimes Honorary Degrees may be given singly at ordinary Congregations; but in the summer, oftenest at the end of May or beginning of June, there is usually one special Congregation at the least in which a small group of distinguished men receive this honour together. Very often they are a band

[1] Usually fortnightly during Term, on Friday or Saturday afternoons at 2, heralded by much bell-ringing from Great St. Mary's tower during lunch

held together by some common tie—a set of Colonial ministers, for example, or connoisseurs of the Fine Arts.

On these high festivals a procession musters under the Library Arcade a few minutes before the advertised hour of congregation, the scarlet gowns and gold-tasselled velvet birettas of Doctors making a fine show against the grey Portland stone of Wright's façade and the sober-habited, mortar-boarded Masters of Arts; sometimes, but rarely, the gold-laced gown of the Chancellor, so long that a page has to hold it up like any court lady's train, holds a happy mean between frippery and austerity. Headed by the two Esquire-Bedells with their maces or "pokers" in attendance upon Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, the train slowly proceeds by the longest route round Senate House Yard into the Senate House itself. Undergraduates cheer, clap, and drop pennies until they themselves are dropped upon (6s. 8d.)—but, on the whole, their public spirits seem subdued when contrasted with those of their Oxford or Edinburgh congeners. Then the Public Orator of the University steps forward before the enthroned Chancellor or his deputy, and in a sonorous but brief speech tells him and the whole Academy in Latin what *Who's Who* says about the eminent strangers, and Herodotus or Plutarch about any outlandish places in which they may have dwelt. The Chancellor then rises and shakes by the hand the belauded individual, a picture by now of shamefaced discomfort, and he has become an Honorary Doctor of the University and really entitled to the proud vesture which he has bought, or more prudently hired, for the occasion.

On Days of General Admission the excitement

seems less factitious. There is no procession and less scarlet; the Public Orator is silent, but the cheering in the gallery does honour to friends or rivals who have somehow merited academic distinction, and not to some idol of the market-place; and there is a note of sadness in the vociferations, since so many gathered there see Cambridge and one another for the last time, and have the battle and the dust before them, not, like the scarlet panjandrums, far behind.

Before the Senate House was built, big functions which would now take place there were staged in the University Church opposite, as when Queen Elizabeth and King James I visited Cambridge.

On the former occasion Nichols, in his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, reports as follows:—

"Against one a clock [of 7 August 1564] was provided in S. Maries Church, for disputations, a great and ample stage, from the wall of the Belfrey-head, unto the Chancell. In the east end was made a spacious and high room for the Queens Majestie. Which was, by her own servants, richly hanged with arras and cloth of state, and all other necessaries, with a cushion to lean upon. All the disputations were driven to that part of the stage. And because both the sides were little enough for the Lords and Ladys, new stages were devised for the Doctors, upon both the sides, fixed to the side posts. . . . The Divines sat upon the south side; and with them, next to the Queens feet Mr. Secretary [Cecil] as Chancellour, having before him the usual cloth and a long velvet cushion. Upon the other side, sate the Lawyers and Physicians, next the Queen's stage.

With whom sate Mr. Doctor Haddon, Master of the Requests, in his seniority. In the middle almost stood the Responsal's seat, looking eastward. Above that, eastward, satt the Bachellours of Divinity on both sides, with the Non-regents. And last of all, westward, stood the Masters of Arts, who were commanded to be at the disputation. All, save the Doctors, were in their habits and hoods. . . .

"The Proctors stall was set, not far from the Responsalls, under the Doctors of Divinity. And, under them, sat the Proctors of the University of Oxford; who by common consent, and speciall commandment of that whole University, were sent hither, with their Esquire and Principall Bedell, to see and hear, as near as they could, for their better instructions (if it should fortune the Queens Majestie to visit that Universitie) all our doings, orders and proceedings. . . .

"When all things were ready, and after the ringing of the University Bell, the Queen's Majestie came to the said place, with royal pomp. At whose entering all the Graduates kneeled, and cryed modestly, "Vivat Regina". And she thanked them; and after, by Mr. Secretary, understood the order, difference, and placing of every person within the theatre".

Elizabeth attended two long days of disputations. At nightfall on the latter, the Bishop of Ely "in his Bishops weed" besought her on bended knee to speak but three words to the University—but it must be in Latin. The Queen coyly demurred for some time, but finally unbosomed herself, not of three, but of several hundred Latin words, quoting Demosthenes and telling her auditors that Rome was not

built in a day, so that they were all "marvelously astonied and inwardly reviseing and revolving the sence of it".

The regulations issued by the University when Elizabeth's successor made his earliest visit to Cambridge, in March of 1615, still survive, and some of them throw a curious light on the manners of the time. I select three :—

"That noe Graduate or any other Student [this is an interesting reference to the term Student, as meaning any person connected with academical pursuits], of what condicioun or degree soever he be, presume dureing the tyme of his Majestie's aboade in this Towne, to goe out of his Colledge, but in his cappe, hoode, and gowne, fittinge his degree and condicion."

"Item, consideringe the fearfull enormytie and excesse of apparell seene in all degrees, as namely, strange pekadivelas [= ? piccadilles, which Cotgrave defines as "the several divisions or pieces fastened together above the brim of the collar of a doublet"], and vast bands, huge cuffs, shoe-roses, tufts, locks, and topps of hare, unbeseeminge that modesty and carridge of Students in soe renowned an Universitye, it is straightlye charged, that noe Graduate or Student [here used in the modern sense] in this Universitye presume to weare any other apparell or ornaments, especially at the tyme of his Majesties abode in the Towne, than such onely as the statutes and laudable customes of this Universitie do allowe, uppon payne of forfeyture of 6s. 8d. for every default ; and if any presume, after this publique warninge, to offend in the premisses, such his willfull offence shal be deemed a contempte, and the party so offending shal be

punished over and besides the foresaid mulct, a month's imprisonment accordinglie."

"That no Graduate, Scholler, or Student of this Universitie, presume to resorte to any Inn, Taverne, Alehowse, or Tobacco-shop, at any time dureing the abode of his Majestie here; nor doe presume to take tobacco in St. Maries Church or in Trinity Colledge Hall, upon payne of finall expellinge the Universitie."

The King much relished his visit, the disputations so delightful to his pedantic soul, and, in chief, the Latin farce of *Ignoramus*, acted before him with the Recorder of Cambridge in the principal part. So overwhelming an effect had this play on the royal risibility that, unable to coax the actors into repeating their triumph in London, Mahomet needs had to return to his mountain, where he duly saw *Ignoramus* a second time before May was out. Perhaps all these good young men in caps and gowns, converts of *A Counterblast to Tobacco* and bereft of strange pekadivelas, had charmed him so that he did not press his invitations to a "Command Performance" at Whitehall more urgently than bare civility would demand.

VII

THE UNIVERSITY: THE PRESS AND THE SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTES

IF the Fitzwilliam Museum and the Botanical Gardens be excepted, the remaining University buildings and institutions hold no special appeal—indeed, rather make a point of holding none—to any but extremely expert visitors. Nor have they antiquity within the prescribed degrees or any architectural interest which demands extended study. A few words about them, though, may be considered not out of place, merely to enlighten with a name those hastening from beauty spot to beauty spot through the gloomy defile of Downing Street, which is quietude itself most of the day, but which every now and then students and their vehicles transform into a bedlam of wheels and smelly explosions.

One end of this pass, when it has degenerated into Pembroke Street, is commanded by the University Press, lying less than quarter of a mile south of the Senate House, which we have just visited. It goes also by the name of the Pitt Press, as Oxford makes its University printing-house illustrious with the name of Clarendon. For, when the Committee for Erecting a Statue to William Pitt had done its work twice over with the provision of effigies in Westminster Abbey and Hanover Square, London, it still found

at its disposal a handsome surplus ; and this it offered to the University at which Pitt had received his education, which he had represented in the House of Commons for twenty-one years, and which in its turn had shown its recognition of the connexion with Nollekens's marble. The only stipulation which the Committee made provided that their benefaction should go to the erection of a building on the site, near Pitt's own College of Pembroke, recently acquired for the University Printer. And such a building duly came into existence. It was designed by Edward Blore, the friend of Sir Walter Scott, who had designed Abbotsford for him, and is, in a small way, interesting as a very early thoroughgoing specimen of the Gothic revival which was shortly to reach its brief florescence in Sir Charles Barry's Houses of Parliament. To appreciate Blore's boldness, we need only think of Cockerell's contemporary labours on the University Library, or, as we leisurely pass along King's Parade and Trumpington Street, compare his work with the very hesitant Gothicizing of William Wilkins at King's and Corpus Christi ;—and Wilkins's work, it may be noted, is less than ten years older than Blore's, which was completed in 1833.

Blore's building, though (I believe) still used partly as a store-house for the Press, is mainly occupied by the University Registry. Its ecclesiastical exterior, which looks best by moonshine with clouds driving, or on the woodcuts of publishers' circulars, used to provoke an annual joke at the expense of Freshmen. Reverend men of the second year would inform them that there the best sacred music in Cambridge discoursed on Sunday afternoons, and many were the zealous figures in cap and gown who on the first

Sunday of the Michaelmas Term scouted about Trumpington Street and Silver Street and Mill Lane, vainly seeking admission to the Gothic fane. But the jest has become as obsolete as a conventional respect for liturgical strains, and with it has lapsed about the only trial to which Cambridge used to put its neophytes. A salient contrast, this, and an honourable, from the buffooneries to which the mediaeval *bajanus* was treated with the alleged purpose of "purifying" him, and the brutalities with which in other English-speaking lands sophomores and their like impress upon their juniors the modesty of learning and the blessings of culture.

Though the principal portion of the present Press buildings has a history of less than a hundred years, the institution is older and the office of University Printer a very great deal older. The first man to print books in Cambridge—and he did so *cum gratia et privilegio*—was John Siberch, which interpreted is John of Siegburg in Rhenish Prussia. He dwelt in a house where now stands the front Court of Caius College, and flourished at Cambridge in 1521 and 1522. In 1534 Henry VIII licensed the University to appoint three stationers and printers or sellers of books, and this privilege it has substantially preserved to this day in the teeth of active opposition from the London Stationers' Company, wrathful at such an incursion into their monopoly. The management of the University Printer's affairs was in 1698 vested in a syndicate appointed by the Senate, the moving spirits in this valuable reform being that Duke of Somerset whose statue stands in the Senate House, and Dr. Richard Bentley, afterwards notorious as Master of Trinity College.

THE PITT PRESS FROM BOTOLPH LANE

To enable it to devote its main energies to the production of learned works with which a commercial firm could not make a sufficient return on its capital, the Press is not condemned to the selection and production of "Novels for the Million", or of "Cambridge Books for Baby Bunting", but enjoys, since 1629, together with the Clarendon Press and the King's Printer, the sole right in His Majesty's Dominions of printing the Book of Common Prayer and the so-called Authorized Version of the Bible, while for the publication of the Revised Version it has only the competition of Oxford to face. At one time it enjoyed too a partial monopoly in the printing of Almanacs and Prognostications (after the manner of "Old Moore") and, since the forfeiture of that prerogative in 1775, has received a small Government annuity in lieu of the financial support thereby lost.

Starting out from the University Press, the hardy may undertake the investigation of the University property that lies within a couple of hundred yards of it on either side of Downing Street. It may at once be promised that laymen, however great their curiosity, will not be welcomed in any of the institutes, except as personal friends, and will not find anything of paramount interest in them. For experts their fascination will have no bounds; but they will have acquaintances in high places and, in any case, this pen of mine cannot adequately serve them; all it can with profit do is to compile, as briefly as possible, a directory to reveal to them what scientific establishments exist and how they may, if wishful, get to them.

On the left-hand side of Downing Street, as you come from Trumpington Street, you have, in the

order in which you come to them, the following departments: Physical Chemistry (with the ornate ironwork gates) and Chemistry; beyond the archway, Pharmacology, and Medicine and Surgery. If you turn in at the archway, the quadrilateral of the Chemical Laboratory, of course, stands on your left hand, and if you proceed alongside it, you come to a second archway, on the left side of which is the entry to the Science Library, known as the Philosophical Library. The Court beyond is occupied, on the left, by the Drawing Office of the Engineering Department and by the Zoological Museum; on the right, by the department of Anatomy, with (*inter alia*) its dissecting rooms on the top floor of the building furthermost to the right, and its Museum, which counts among its curiosities the skulls of Charles XII of Sweden and (perhaps) of Laurence Sterne, the novelist; according to a gruesome story, the creator of Dr. Slop was "resurrected" and sold to the Professor of Anatomy at Cambridge, on whose dissecting table an acquaintance recognized him. The northern side of this courtyard forms the vestibule to the Examination School, completed in 1912, but spatially already far from adequate. The Examination School connects on the north-west with the handsome Arts School, finished according to the designs of Mr. G. Hubbard in 1911. The Arts School is the best building on this side of Downing Street, and its outside is best seen from the brick-paved courtyard through which its main entrance is approached from Bene't Street. In the Arts School many of the lectures in non-scientific subjects are delivered, and its top story houses a number of the small "Departmental" Libraries. From the left of

the Examination School, to return to its approach from Downing Street, runs a passage leading into the third and oldest quadrangle of the " Museums ", given up to Physics and to Mineralogy.

The University institutes on the south side of Downing Street (a site acquired from Downing College 1896–1902) present a much more distinguished appearance than their older colleagues over the way. For one thing, they are all built in a medium which is probably best adapted to modern architectural conditions in Cambridge, a mixture of brick and stone. In general, stone buildings or all-stone façades always look a little out of place here ; there is an air of " Sunday best " about them, and they do not harmoniously accord with the *genius loci* as at Oxford. Stucco can only be justified—and is so justified in too many instances, alas !—when the brickwork which it masks is even more squalid and ugly. The laboratories and museums on this site are peculiarly satisfying to the eye by reason of the excellent mellow tint of the bricks used in their building ; and it is a great pity that the Biochemical Laboratory (finished in 1924) should have been allowed to offend against the decorum of its neighbours with the excessive ruddiness of its brickwork and effulgence of its stone.

The building facing Downing Street, a noble design by the late Sir Thomas Jackson in a kind of Rhenish Renaissance style, is given over to Ethnology (Tennis Court Road corner), Law (middle) and Geology (further corner) ; on entering beneath the Squire Law Library, we have before us the Botany School ; behind that again the home of the Department of Agriculture, which also controls two large University Farms on the Huntingdon Road, about two miles

away. Continuing the line of the School of Agriculture on the other side of the main path stands the Department of Physiology, and then, in echelon, the School of Forestry (further to the left), the Low Temperature Station, and the Department of Parasitology, while flaunting Biochemistry flanks Agriculture on the side away from Physiology.

Many of the laboratories first enumerated, those on the north side of Downing Street, occupy the site of the old University Botanical Gardens, a single relic of which abides in the great *Sophora chinensis* of the southern court. It is the tree which yields the characteristic yellow dye of Chinese Court raiment. The removal of plants and apparatus which had accumulated here for eighty-five years began in 1847, and by 1852 everything that could be moved (except the gates) had been transferred to a large plot of land three-quarters of a mile away on the Trumpington Road, which now forms one of the most important Botanical Gardens of Great Britain, attractive alike to specialist and layman. The best time for a visit is perhaps the early afternoon, when the glass-houses are open to inspection. If, as is most likely, you approach it from Trumpington Street you have Hobson's Conduit running at your side all the way, and you pass a variety of interesting buildings *en route*, some of which I shall have no occasion to mention again; so I had better say a word about them now.

First you have Pembroke College on the left; the Congregational Church which, it is said, imitates the Belfry of Malines, Little St. Mary's Church (already spoken of), and Peterhouse on the right, with the

William-and-Mary residence of the Master opposite. Then, on the same side of the street as Peterhouse, the Fitzwilliam Museum—to be described in the next chapter—and, opposite that, another fine early eighteenth-century house. The keystone of the ground-floor window next to the chemist's shop bears the inscription " 1727 I. H. X ", and then a wheel—very likely a Catherine wheel. " I. H." probably stands for John Halstead, who built the house in 1727—for Halsteads, as we know, inhabited it for many years—but there is no positive evidence for it. The Catherine wheel perhaps commemorates the name of an inn dedicated to that Saint which occupied this site before the Halsteads—and an inn, certainly the present building, became at one time, after its abandonment by the Halstead family and before the major portion of it was made over to its present use, " centre of the corporate life of the Non-Collegiate students ", and it received its current name, Fitzwilliam House.[1] On the same side of the road, a little beyond, we have Addenbrooke's Hospital, founded in 1719 by Dr. John Addenbrooke of St. Catharine's and affiliated to the University Medical School. A little further, on the other side of the way, a carriage drive leads up to the new University Engineering Laboratory (completed 1921), and, past the next terrace of houses and Coe Fen Lane, we come to the Leys School, a nonconformist public school for boys. The handsomest part of the school faces the street, in the shape of Sir Aston Webb's gateway which King George V opened in 1914, and which is called after His Majesty.

A little further on, on the other side of the way, we arrive at the gates to the garden we are seeking

[1] See also page 56.

They are actually the gates of the old eighteenth-century garden, finally moved here as late as 1909.

There is only one University Department of general interest, I think, which has not yet been alluded to, and which I should mention here for completeness's sake. That is the Observatory on the Madingley Road. Madingley Road is the continuation of Northampton Street, which leads out of Magdalene Street and which has been mentioned in Chapter III; and the Observatory lies about a mile beyond the "School of Pythagoras". Between 8 and 10.30 on Saturday nights during Full Term in the Michaelmas and Lent Terms visitors are shown various celestial objects there, if they present themselves in the company of some senior or junior member of the University.

VIII

THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM

THE Fitzwilliam Museum owes its institution to Richard Fitzwilliam, seventh Viscount Fitzwilliam of Meryon, Fellow of the Royal Society of London, who proceeded to the degree of M.A. from Trinity Hall in 1764. At his death, which occurred in 1816, he bequeathed to his University his collection of MSS., books, and engravings, 144 pictures, and £100,000 in South Sea annuities. When the interest accruing from the latter had sufficiently accumulated, the construction of the present building was taken in hand. The University appointed for its architect Disraeli's cousin, George Basevi, who superintended the work from 1837 to 1845; when in 1845 Basevi suffered premature death by falling through a hole in the floor on to the pavement below the West Tower of Ely Cathedral (where he was professionally engaged), his place was taken by C. R. Cockerell, whose work in the University Library we have already noted. Basevi is, generally speaking, responsible for the fabric, notably the fine elevation, which would look very handsome indeed from a straight-on approach of any length; Cockerell designed most of the interior detail except the Entrance Hall, which was completed by E. M. Barry

in 1875. Latterly, the accommodation of the Museum has been increased by the completion, in 1924, of a wing designed by Messrs. Smith and Brewer to exhibit the collections bequeathed by Mr. C. R. Marlay of Trinity College, who died in 1912. This wing, necessarily at the side—since Peterhouse deer garden prevents any backward extension—testifies to much skill and modesty on the part of the architects, who have made no attempt at rivalling Basevi's façade or distracting attention from it, and who have yet contrived to avoid any hint of insignificance or meanness. Inside, their galleries are admirable for their uniform light and uncommonly efficient aeration.

Ever since the founder's time other benefactors have added with rare munificence to all the different departments of the Museum, with the result that (outside London) it is now undoubtedly the most interesting and valuable Museum of its kind in England. I can make no attempt here at describing it exhaustively, or even give an adequate account of its most valuable treasures. Happily such an undertaking would be a work of supererogation, since full descriptive catalogues of most of the departments exist and may be bought of the friendly man at the door who takes away your stick or umbrella and symbolizes you with a tick on his slate.

The Fitzwilliam Museum opens every weekday (except Christmas Day, Good Friday, and the first Wednesday of every month) at 10 and every Sunday at 2; it closes at 5 during May, June, July, and August, and at 4 the rest of the year.

Mr. Lucas has recently exhorted all of us who vainly but hopefully toil after him in the appreciation of painting to bestow in every gallery our closest

attention on the "school" of the country wherein the collection is situated: in Munich study the Cranachs; in Venice the Tintorettos; at the Prado Velasquez; at Haarlem Frans Hals, and so forth. Let us take his counsel and proceed at once to the larger gallery (No. V), exclusively given over to the English masters, the first-floor side-room on the extreme right, *i.e.* to the north. We shall find here the greater part of a series affording an unusually instructive, as well as attractive, illustration of the history of English painting—anyway since the advent of the first George. Unhappily there are not many English paintings of earlier date, and those that there are have no great interest, though the three primitives hung on the left-hand side of the doorway leading into the corner-room should be noted. One of them, a small fresco from Old Chesterton Church, despite some stiffness of head, makes a very winsome picture of St. Dorothy, arrayed in an almost Cambridge-blue gown. Gratitude should impel us to glance past the opposite doorpost at the effigy of the main donor, as portrayed by Prince Hoare.

There can, I think, be no dispute on which the most beautiful picture in this room may be. It is the portrait of an unknown man by an unknown British painter, and hangs in the corner farthest away from the two doorways. The late C. F. Watts, the donor, was fond of ascribing it to Francis Cotes (? 1725–70), whom Hogarth held a greater painter than Reynolds; but there is no positive evidence for the attribution. Any visitor who has a clue to the artist's identity would make himself a *persona gratissima* to the Honorary Keeper of the Pictures by divulging it.

From the same wall as this star Ignoto hang three authentic and two queried Hogarths; with the (finer) examples of his genius in the two next rooms they form a most noteworthy group; the portrait of Dr. Arnold of Ashley Lodge here is remarkably and characteristically impressive for its vigour and downrightness. Above the portrait of Miss Frances Arnold appears a Nathaniel Hone, notable for the excellence of the face and the deplorableness of almost everything else. General Lloyd (died 1783), whom it represents, had a most romantic career: the son of a Welch parson, he was first a lay-brother in a French monastery, than an officer successively in the French, Jacobite, Austrian, and Russian armies, as well as a British Secret Service agent and a writer on military subjects, whom Carlyle greatly admired and found very useful for his *Frederick the Great.*

Further along we may see four of the illustrations which Joseph Highmore made for *Pamela or Virtue Rewarded*; that on the extreme left shows one of the too frequent occasions when Mr. B. (whose name Fielding unkindly expanded into Booby) "degraded himself to offer freedoms to his poor servant", as Pamela herself reports; in the next he is at the window watching his recalcitrant handmaiden, radiant in an impossible illumination, whirling away to his country seat, where (he hopes) she will be brought to her senses; next we behold Pamela, "that artful schemer", pointing out as unobtrusively as any *prima ballerina* a place where she may exchange correspondence with Parson Williams, who, according to one contemporary account, was no better than he should be; the stout person in the background, whose attention has so successfully been diverted,

is Mrs. Jewkes, Mr. B.'s very devoted servant and " breaker-in " of Pamela. The last member of the series is taken from Part II, " Pamela in her Exalted Condition ", *i.e.* Pamela become Mrs. B., and exhibits the numerous results of virtue. Highmore was a personal friend of Richardson, and the well-known portrait of the novelist in the Hall of the Stationers' Company is by him.

The opposite wall and one of the screens between is mostly covered with the labours of the pre-Raphaelites, their sophisticated primitivism and goitrous beauties. A rarity among them is a picture by Mrs. Rossetti illustrating the ancient Ballad of Clerk Saunders. That very direct wooer looks bitterly disappointed—and most justifiably—with the accommodation his lady-love has provided for him. Equal entertainment may be derived from Ford Madox Browne's " Death of Tristram ". Gazing at it, one yearns for Mr. George Morrow's " depressions " of Tristram's transpontine curse, of the oar King Mark pulled in the bumping races of Lyonesse, of the spatterdashes which all the persons are wearing on their forearms, and of Iseult's lap-dog who, quite properly, refuses to take any of the hurly-burly seriously. The most interesting item in this group is the same artist's picture that hangs underneath, " The Last of England ", better known in the larger version, now the just pride of the Birmingham Art Gallery. The Cambridge copy is a most meticulous piece of work, and it hardly comes as a surprize to read in the printed account hung near by that the painter took four weeks over the central female's madder-coloured bonnet-ribbons.

To the right of the pre-Raphaelites are exhibited

some of the English oil landscapes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, while some more interesting specimens of contemporary work in water-colour may be studied on one of the central screens. One of them, Thomas Girtin's sketch of the Eildon Hills near Montrose, serves to show how very little difference in the final effect that strange old convention of representing green hues by sepia really made. This picture of Girtin's may not be one of his best efforts, nor is the solitary Cotman next it supreme of its kind, but they are a joy for all that, and the Museum is to be congratulated on their possession.

Before leaving this room, we should cast a glance at the exhibit of Blake books in the show-case below the alleged Cotes—and the Blake pictures above them—as well as at the handsome pollard oak cabinet against one of the doorways, on which stands, cut in alabaster, a very stern Saint Anne teaching a very bored St. Mary her letters.

In the corner-room adjacent (No. IV) there are two further interesting but cruder specimens of the alabaster-work for which the English Midlands were renowned throughout Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The show-cases in this room contain some interesting MSS. and valuable printed books ranged under their authors' Colleges. In one case may be seen side by side in the clean manuscript copy the most famous work of the greatest and of the most lauded neo-Georgian poets—James Elroy Flecker's *Golden Journey to Samarkand* and Rupert Brooke's *Grantchester*. Flecker, coming from Oxford, lived in Cambridge for two years as a student-interpreter attached to Caius College; Brooke was

first Scholar, then Fellow, of King's College, and was one of the enthusiasts who helped to found the Marlowe Society, a local dramatic organization which produces Elizabethan and Jacobean plays at the rate of about one a year. Near these poets' productions lies the poem of one whom we could only temerariously describe as a poet—" Erewhon " Butler's *Psalm to Montreal*, with the unforgotten, unforgettable conclusion, " Oh, God ! Oh, Montreal ! "

Another show-case reverently preserves the plum-coloured Court Suit of Samuel Rogers, the poet, who lent it successively to Wordsworth and Tennyson for their presentations to Victoria on their appointment to the laureateship.

This corner-room contains some singularly fine modern paintings: an Arnesby Brown (" Yacht Race "—on a screen) of quite exceptional sweep and feeling, one of Sir William Orpen's uncannily close likenesses (of Sir Clifford Allbutt, the recently deceased Regius Professor of Physic), Mr. Augustus John's much discussed portrait of Mr. George Bernard Shaw (this time with his eyes most properly wide open), and two works by Mr. William Nicholson which, though strongly contrasted from one another, equally compel the attention—the portrait of General Smuts (one of the most distinguished living sons of the University), and the picture of the Caius Gate of Honour under snow. It is impossible for a layman to find adequate words for describing the genius with which the different shades of grey, and nothing but grey, convey the combined effect of shining reflection, stark masonry, gloom, and wet.

Among the older paintings in this room we should note a fine Raeburn, just slightly verging on the

saccharine (portrait of W. Glendouwyn, to the left on entering from Room V). The others perhaps are more interesting than beautiful: there is a good Etty (Dr. John Camidge—hung "north-east", so to speak, of General Smuts); three Gainsboroughs, good solid work without a trace of the virtuosity one associates with him; "Spanish Carnival", by John Philip, a rare specimen of the English counterpart to the French school of the Second Empire, what time most of our painters were mazing themselves with Arthur and his knights; a portrait of Händel as a young man, by Sir James Thornhill, the pupil of Highmore who succeeded Kneller as chief Court painter; and Charles Jevons's picture of Martha and Teresa Blount, the two sisters who lived in such equivocal relations with their protector Pope and one another.

As we enter the principal saloon (Room III) from the northern corner-room, we have on the nearest wall additional examples of the British School of Painting: the only Lawrence of the collection, for instance (portrait of Samuel Woodburn), two more untypical Gainsboroughs, and a very brilliant Wright of Derby (portait of Mrs. John Ashton of Liverpool). In the gracious neighbourhood of Mrs. Ashton we may begin (or resume) the study of Roubiliac's genius, for which Cambridge affords capital facilities. To be sure, the Fitzwilliam Museum contains nothing to rival on terms of entire equality the miraculous bust of Colley Cibber in the National Portrait Gallery, London, but the model for the statue to Händel which here engages the attention has much of its insouciance and—the figure of the infant disregarded—lifelikeness. The finished effigy, which in the process of

magnification has lost nearly all of this intimate charm, stands now in Messrs. Novello's premises in London, whither it was moved on the closing of Vauxhall Gardens. On the other side of the doorway hangs James Lonsdale's portrait of Samuel Parr of Emmanuel College, who at one time was venerated as the Cambridge and Whig counterpart to Samuel Johnson, the Jacobite of Pembroke College, Oxford.

More notable may be, and certainly more vital, than anything suspended from this wall are the two pictures standing on easels in front of it: Mr. Nicholson's masterpiece, "The Girl with a Tattered Glove", and Mr. Augustus John's portrait of Mr. Thomas Hardy, O.M., Litt.D., Honorary Fellow of Magdalene College.

On the side-wall, nearer the "Girl with a Tattered Glove", hang many representatives of the Dutch School of Painting, in which the founder's bequest was proportionately richest. Most noteworthy, in the order in which we come to them, are: two Berckheydes, *chef d'œuvres* of that master—the specially fine "View in Haarlem", with the Groote Kerk, is substantially the same at this day, though the fashionable silhouette for males has changed; a particularly good Hobbema ("Wooded Landscape"), with the same mixture of natural and preternatural lighting disclosed in the National Gallery's "Avenue of Middelharnis"; beyond the doorway no less than five Jacob van Ruisdaels, two of them as fine work as ever he did—namely, the large, turbulent "Landscape with Waterfall", and the small, placid "Landscape with a Brook and Farmhouse among Trees". The former is interesting as a romantic heightening of observation: Ruisdael wished to emulate his

friend Everdingen's popular Norwegian landscapes; but he himself had probably seen nothing wilder in his life than the Teutoburg Forest! After that we encounter the only Ter Borch of the gallery, not a first-rate example; as an offset, a splendid Frans Hals, and a "Village Festival" by Jan Steen, most characteristic of the artist, except in the happy absence of that chalky blue of his which is apt to become very dissonant in the course of time; and Isaack van Nikkelen's "Interior of the Great Church at Antwerp", which shows a monk seemingly dancing a jig in the north aisle and demonstrates strikingly that in the seventeenth century Protestantism was not the necessary corollary of whitewash.

The bit of wall next following serves as something of an *omnium gatherum*, since it displays: three Flemish demi-primitives; the only Murillo in the building (and an altogether bad one); a picture of the Colosseum in the fifteenth century, and one of St. Peter with a naked woman; a Venus thoroughly sulky at being so "skied"; and two good sea-pieces —one calm, the other animated. The sea-fight off Lowestoft in 1665, commemorated by Abraham Storck in the latter, ended disastrously for the two admirals engaged: the defeated Dutchman, Obdam, was killed in the course of the action, the Duke of York cashiered by the British Government for not pushing his advantage home.

A charming little item near by must not be overlooked—the little group of painted wood with the infant Jesus in his nightie standing on Saint Anne's knee, and his little crowned mother sitting on it—Anne having moved her head a little to the left on account of obstruction, just as any photographer

to-day might have counselled. Though the Fitzwilliam Museum is not as strong as it might be in specimens of Spanish art, this delightful wood carving almost makes amends, as far at least as quality goes.

Beyond the doorway, as we continue our circumnavigation of Room III, we come upon the representatives of the Italian Schools of Painting, so many of them, alas! "in the manner of X.Y.Z.", or "School of M. or N."; while others are of kinds held beyond price at the time of their bequest, but now deep in an æsthetic "slump"—as, for instance, the works of Salvator Rosa and the brothers Caracci. None the less, some very noble specimens hang here. The best of them are a most distinguished Palma Vecchio of "Venus and Cupid" with a walled town in the background and those blue, blue hills, considered so typical of Italy, but which one rarely sees outside the picture-galleries. The piece of stuff on which Venus rests her *prima-donna*-like arm is as fine example as you may wish to see—or, for the matter of that, could see anywhere—of Venetian virtuosity in the painting of gorgeous fabrics. Ter Borch and Gainsborough do that sort of thing wonderfully, too; some virtue perhaps, after all, in belonging to nations of shopkeepers.

Farther along an even plumper Venus, by Titian, displays her charms before a more formidable background and a young man who, after assisting her in a musical duet, is anxiously looking to see what Master Cupid may be up to now and probably wishing him at the bottom of the sea. The place of honour on this wall is rightly filled by Paolo Veronese's "Hermes, Herse, and Aglauros", perhaps the finest Italian painting in the gallery. According to the

legend preserved by Ovid, Hermes fell in love with Herse, who, with two of her sisters, was priestess of Athena at Athens. One of the sisters, Aglauros, filled with jealousy, tried by force to prevent Hermes from visiting Herse, for which she was turned into a stone. Paolo Veronese shows Hermes forcing his way in and turning on Aglauros to mete out her punishment. The official catalogue justly says of this work: "There are few pictures of Veronese more carefully finished or more pleasing in colour . . . and notwithstanding a certain stiffness in drawing and composition must pass for one of his best works out of Venice". This Paolo Veronese and the Palma Vecchio and Titian mentioned just before formed in the eighteenth century part of the great Orléans Collection.

The pictures and engravings shown on the screens and in the show-case of this room are generally of uncommon interest; but they are not infrequently changed, so only the most important things of all, fairly safe in their excellence, can here be mentioned. At either end small show-cases contain the most valuable examples of "painting as an applied art" in the Museum; at the north end the mid-thirteenth-century *Psalter and Hours* which belonged to Isabella of France, sister of St. Louis; at the other end the "Metz Pontifical", which is just a little later in date. Both these are miracles of manuscript illumination. In the centre is displayed the so-called *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, a manuscript collection of songs made at the time of England's undisputed pre-eminence in music, round about the year 1600. Near by are an etching by Charles Keane of the same Mr. and Mrs. Edwards of whom Fantin Latour painted his masterpiece, now in the National Gallery, and a nice little Corot.

The show-cases round the walls contain some valuable and interesting autographs, notably the manuscripts of Mr. A. E. Housman's *Last Poems* and of Mr. Thomas Hardy's *Time's Laughing Stocks*. Room I, it may be noted here, has the manuscript of the latter's *Jude the Obscure*, with a laudatory letter written by Swinburne in acknowledging a presentation-copy of that novel.

The south corner-room (No. II) contains a bit of everything. Its chief glory is the magnificent Rembrandt, " A Study of a Man with a plumed Hat and a long Sword ", dated 1650. According to Smith and Hofstede de Groot, it is a portrait of the painter himself at the age of forty-four ; but that is disputed. As a companion-picture, on the other side of the doorway leading into the Marlay Gallery, hangs a very good Rubens, " Faith, Hope, and Charity ", which reveals the verve and ease of his genius without too much flamboyance and female obesity.

The west wall displays a comparatively large and most interesting collection of Venetian paintings of the *ottocento* : two of the larger Bellottos, one of Venice, and the other of Florence with the Ponte Vecchio in the background, are exceptionally fine. On the screen in front of the Venetians are exhibited most of the Museum's nineteenth-century foreign Masters—as yet too few : a Lepine, an Harpignies (very satisfying and wet), a Vollon, a (poor) Corot, three Daubignys, and a James Maris.

The show-cases in this apartment are set apart for the illuminated manuscripts which came to the Museum by the munificent will of Mr. Frank McClean.

The east room (No. I), leading out of the corner-room and presided over by the figure of Academic

Glory already alluded to, is chiefly occupied by the minor Dutchmen: vast shambles of game and fish, flowers stiff against a black background, scraps of landscape, seascape, and mythology—most of them miracles of sheer skill, but appealing almost solely to connoisseurs. Still, even a casual stroll through the room should be checked for a moment before the little girl in the first left-hand corner, by Carel Fabritius, the master of incomparable Vermeer and painter of that delicious Goldfinch at The Hague; before two good and comparatively sober Jan Steens on either side of the doorway; before No. 250, a most amusing "Temptation of St. Jerome" (such is the allegation in the catalogue); before a stand in front of Academic Glory which supports four delightful eighteenth-century French pictures—two Greuzes on the left balanced by two Watteaus on the right; before No. 294, a little beyond, a jewel of "still life" by P. Claesz. On the stand farthest from Academic Glory there rests (No. 511) a beautiful portrait of the Earl of Leicester, who was Queen Elizabeth's favourite and High Steward of the University, painted 1562 and attributed to Federigo Zuccaro.

Perhaps the most fascinating exhibit in this room is formed by the great collection of ornamental watches, which range from *colossi* the size of soup-bowls to useful little adjuncts to piety inserted in ornamental crosses. There are a few, a very few, good modern French *plaques*, too, and, next to them, some items in the fine collection of classical coins of which the Museum is justly proud. There are shown here also some very interesting and valuable manuscripts of painters and musicians, notably the *Ledger and Notebook of Sir Joshua Reynolds.*

The pictures in the upper Marlay Gallery (which also leads out of Room II) stand pretty well in the same relation to the Italian paintings in the large saloon as those in the room we have just left do to the Dutch. The primitives, though, are better represented. One should note : a series of " animated pictures " in the second bay on the left—the " Story of Cupid and Psyche ", full of absurd Botticellian drapery and the plainest of females, is as amusing and thrilling as the plot of the " Teseide " in the first room at the Uffizi ; in the second bay on the right a " Holy Family ", by an unidentified member of the Roman School (seventeenth century), remarkable for the wonderful painting of Joseph's clothes. In the third bay of the left wall are displayed a few attractive specimens of Spanish art, nobly a Zurburan, capital in so far as it is a picture of " still life " ; opposite, a striking " Portrait of a Gentleman " by Bartolommeo Veneto.

Whereas upstairs the examples of applied art are confined to a handsome set of Oriental rugs and a jolly Venetian chest—the sort of thing that Iachimo hid in—painted o'er with a representation of Aemilius Paulus's triumphs, the relative importance of non-pictorial and pictorial art is reversed in the Marlay Gallery below. The pictures are of little account, but the attractions spread in the glass-cases, even though at the time of writing (December 1925) they are not finally disposed, seem inexhaustible. Here, as in the other rooms of the Museum not yet described, I can but say of what kind the different treasures are, leaving it to the amateur and connoisseur to seek his prey and to gloat. This lower Marlay Room has on the west side : manuscript illumina-

tions and early printing with woodcut illustrations; bookbindings; in the middle a collection of Chinese snuff-bottles, with Japanese sword-guards, medicine cases, and other lacquer-work and carving in the next cases. Against the east side are ranged some plate and a good deal of china-ware, in which Oriental pottery predominates.

The lower Marlay Gallery leads into the large room devoted to remains of classical antiquity, and to the valuable Egyptian department which continues round the corner into the northern side-room. The room corresponding to this on the other side of the Hall contains the Library, now reft of its Music,[1] and a fine collection of classical gems. One of these, with an engraving of a Lady taking a Jewel from a Casket, is a very rare example of signed Greek gem from the best period. The craftsman was Dexamenos and his age the early fourth century.

This virtually completes a "rush round" through the Museum, which, more than any other that I know, rewards repeated visits, be they long or short. In our eagerness to get at the English pictures we did not, however, pay as much heed as we should to the beautiful objects on view in the vestibule and on the first-floor landing. While making up our mind to leave the building we may make good the omission. The pottery at the top of the stairs, in particular, is marvellous for its variety and beauty. There are some fascinating Chinese beasts of the Tang Dynasty and some Damascan tiles of unsurpassed richness of colour. There is also a very nice bust, by Chantrey, of Horne Tooke of St. John's College, philologist, sympathizer with the French Revolution, and idol of youthful Coleridge.

[1] In the University Library.

THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM AND PETERHOUSE

IX

THE COLLEGES: PETERHOUSE AND PEMBROKE

PETERHOUSE (or St. Peter's College) affords a capital starting-point for an exploration of the Cambridge Colleges. Not only does it stand next to the Fitzwilliam Museum, where the portion of this book devoted to the University ends, not only is it the first College which the traveller by road from the south passes, but it is also the oldest foundation of the kind in Cambridge.

The credit for inaugurating the College system—as far as concerns Britain at least—belongs to Oxford, where, with his code of 1274 (the fourth he elaborated), Walter de Merton promulgated the statutes whose letter and spirit were to guide the corporation bearing his name, and the many others that later grew up looking to it for light and leading. Their chief aim was directed towards the maintenance and education of students of Arts—that is to say, of literature and philology in their broadest sense—and towards fitting them, not for membership of the regular orders, which at that time were aiming at a monopoly of higher education, but for the learned professions; not for renunciation of the World, but for membership and, when nature permitted, leadership of it.

This ideal the Colleges of Oxford and of Cambridge have always had before them and have, moreover, realized at all the truly vital periods of their history.

By letters-patent dated Christmas Eve 1280, King Edward I gave Hugh of Balsham, Bishop of Ely from 1256 or 1257 to 1286, permission to make certain changes in the regulations governing the Augustinian hospital of St. John at Cambridge, which stood where St. John's College now does and of which he was patron and visitor. In place of certain secular brethren who had resided with the regulars in this hospital, he might introduce " studious scholars who shall in everything live together as students according to the rule of scholars at Oxford who are called of Merton ". The students were to be supported by the income of the Hospital, which was augmented to meet the fresh charges upon it.

This scheme was foredoomed to failure, since it involved the communal cohabitation of regulars and of scholars governed by rules which, if not actively, at least passively were directed against the regular orders. It is therefore not surprising to find that less than four years later, on 31 March 1284, the Scholars of the Bishops of Ely, as they were first called, migrated from the hospital of St. John, which stood on the site of St. John's College Chapel, to two *hospicia* in Trumpington Street, just south of St. Peter's Church, and there established themselves as a full-fledged and independent if penurious College, outwardly little more than a Hostel of seventeen rooms, but endowed sufficiently for the maintenance of its inmates. Within a few years they acquired further parcels of land to the south, some of them the property of the Friars of the Sack—or *fratres de*

sacco, as the mediaeval Latin so comprehensibly calls them—and built thereon, probably before 1300, the Hall and Buttery standing on the south side of the principal quadrangle. This block remains in some particulars unaltered to this day, and accordingly constitutes the oldest collegiate building in Cambridge.

Anyone visiting Peterhouse will, rather naturally, betake himself to this portion of the fabric before any other; it forms part of the (southern) range of the Old Court along which he enters and lies on either side of the passage through to the Gardens. Such a passage, though it does not always lead to a garden, forms a feature common to the plan of every Cambridge College where the Hall is not situated on the first floor; it is called "the Screens", and there the notices of the College and University officials and of the various Clubs and Societies are posted.

The Hall of course has undergone many outward changes in six centuries, more striking to the eye, however, than subversive of the original architecture. The chief of them took place in 1870, under the direction of Sir Gilbert Scott, when the present roof was imposed and the oriel-window, designed by Ford Madox Brown, put in. William Morris executed the design of the other windows. Among the many portraits hanging in the Hall, there should be noted a fine specimen of Sir George Reid's art (Professor Tait) and on a wooden panel near him, much "skied", an alleged likeness of the founder. Professor Tait, according to a popular legend, was the natural philosopher who demonstrated that the laws of physics set a definite limit to the maximum possible flight of a golf-ball and computed that maximum, only to have his reasoning set at naught a short

time afterwards by an "impossibly" colossal drive of his own son, the celebrated "Freddy" Tait.

The rest of the Old Court, except the chapel end, dates from the fifteenth century (1424–60); it was refaced on the inside in the middle of the eighteenth century, but, as so often in Cambridge, its original appearance may still be reconstructed by a comparison with the back walls, visible from Little St. Mary's churchyard and the College gardens. The most notable feature in it is the Combination Room, or Parlour, which backs on to the Hall at the dais end. It is one of the most beautiful rooms in Cambridge, and one of the most pleasantly situated, with its southern windows giving directly on to the smooth lawn of the Fellows' Garden. Its present shape and decoration date from the latest reconstruction of the Hall. The hearth has some particularly delicate tiles by Morris, representing the four seasons; the oriel-window, figuring the Good Women that Chaucer wearied of celebrating, is the work of Burne-Jones. A Combination Room, by the way, is a place where the Fellows and other Seniors "combine", or meet socially.

After the completion of the northern, western, and southern ranges in the Old Court, no work of any magnitude was undertaken before the building of a new stone-fronted Library, in continuation of the south side. This was begun in 1590, in accordance with the bequest of that Dr. Perne, Master of the College, with whom we have already had dealings in these pages as the "onlie begetter" of Hobson's Conduit. It was finally completed, as the figures on the bow-window facing the street relate, in 1633, when the handsome little all-brick building farther east

was added, as part of a larger scheme, which included a chapel and a balancing wing on the other side of it.

For more than three hundred years Peterhouse men worshipped in Little St. Mary's Church and its predecessor, St. Peter's. It was no unusual arrangement, but it had its disadvantages. It was a nuisance to have to leave the College precincts for morning service in mid-winter, and the less virtuous undergraduates easily found an opportunity after evensong of slipping away unnoticed and spending the rest of the evening in the snare-spreading town.

This state of things the College authorities in the reign of Charles I proposed to remedy and to bring Peterhouse into line with all the sister foundations. So in 1632 the present chapel, planned by an unknown architect, was consecrated with much pomp, in the Mastership of Matthew Wren, uncle of Sir Christopher, and afterwards, in succession, Bishop of Hereford, Norwich, and Ely. Though neither a sycophant nor a papist, Matthew Wren had directed much animosity against himself by his ingenuity, first (at the time of *Ignoramus*) in arguing, to James I's delight, that the King's dogs naturally could outdo all others since they "hunted not by common law, but by prerogative", and later, in his son's reign, by High Church practices. "He got the length of *Canterburies* [*i.e.* Laud's] foot so exactly, that the freshmen of *Cambridge* smelt his Bishopricke at least two or three years before it fell, knowing him to be a notable craftie insinuating fellow, as they would often say among themselves". So, at any rate, affirms the anonymous author of an amusing pamphlet, the title of which deserves quotation in full: "*Wrens Anatomy, Discovering His notorious pranks and shame-*

full wickednesse ; with some of his most lewd facts, and infamous deeds ; both in his government of Peterhouse *Colledge, and domineering in three Bishopricks, to his perpetuall shame and infamy. Printed in the yeare, That* Wren *ceased to domineere,* 1641 ". We are further told that, besides other " facinorous acts ", Wren introduced Latin services and all manner of " Babylonicall idolatries " into his College chapel. These ceremonies were further encouraged by Wren's successor, John Cosins or Cosin, who had already endured the redoubtable lash of Prynne on account of " his Couzening Devotions ". Of him the author of *Wren's Anatomy* says : " Popish *Cosens* . . . he onely of all men in *England* should be Master of *Peter-house,* and indeed (to say truth) of all the wretches in *England,* he is most like unto wicked *Wren,* and cursed *Canterbury* ".

Little wonder then that, when the reaction came, Peterhouse Chapel should enjoy the first and very special attention of Mr. William Dowsing, whom the Earl of Manchester had appointed to execute the demolition of altars, pictures, and images in accordance with parliamentary ordinance of 28 August, 1643. Dowsing visited Cambridge at Christmas-time of the same year and left a valuable record of his doings. The general principles on which he worked came out at his dealings with the old chapel of Pembroke and therefore demand quotation :—

" Mr. Weeden and Boldero told me, the Clargy had only to do in Ecclesiastical matters, nether Magistrate nor Parliament had any thing to do. I told them I perceived they were of Cusens Judgment and told them I would prove the people had to doe, as well as the Clargy, and cited the Acts 1, 15, 16, 23, the 120

belevers had the Election of an Apostle in the room of Judas and I told them Josias's Reforming Religion with the other good Reforming Kings of Juda, proved it ; and for the taking down of Images. I told them the Book of Homelys did prove it which they so much honored and aledged P. 12113 etc. against the perill of Idolatry and the Queen's Injunctions, others aledged Cherubims to be lawfully by Scripture and that Salamon made them, without any Commandment ; I denyed it and turned to Exod. 25, 18, 20. Then they said Salomon did make them without any order from God. I answered, he received a Paterne from David and read to them I Chr. 10, 18, 19."

By the time he got to Pembroke, Dowsing had been busy at Peterhouse for two days. " We pulled down ", he records, " 2 mighty great Angells with Wings, and divers other Angells, and the 4 Evangelists and Peter with his Keies over the Chappell Dore, and about a hundred Chirubims and Angells and divers Superstitious Letters [i.e. Latin texts] in gold."

The local legend has it that the fine East Window, in the design of which Rubens (Hon. M.A. of the University) may have had a hand, was only preserved from Dowsing's zealous hands by the forethought of the College in burying it ; there is, however, no positive evidence for this romantic tale.

Dowsing's zeal has certainly left Peterhouse Chapel sombre and sober enough, for all the attempt to enliven it by some nineteenth-century German glass in the side windows. It has, however, two beautiful silver candlesticks of the time of its inauguration, and some good plain woodwork at the back of the stalls.

The rest of the buildings erected in Wren's master-

ship, consisting of a porch to the Chapel, two loggias to complete the principal quadrangle, and a building prolonging the north range, did not survive very long. The loggias were fashioned to their present appearance in 1709 to 1711, the porch pulled down in 1755, and the new chambers against St. Mary's Church replaced in 1738–42 by the present classical building. This was designed by James Burrough and moved a little back from the older building-line.

One of the early inhabitants of Burrough's building was Thomas Gray, after whom it is now called. He resided at Peterhouse from 1734 to 1738 and later from October 1744 to March 1756. Latterly he occupied chambers on the second floor with a window facing north, whence no doubt he often gazed over Little St. Mary's graveyard, where heaves the turf in many a mould'ring heap, while his studious fingers held apart choice pages in Warton's *Pleasures of Melancholy*, or Young's *Night Thoughts*, or Hervey's *Meditations Among the Tombs*. In the neighbourhood of that window, alarmed by a conflagration that had recently destroyed his uncle's warehouse, Gray fixed a stout iron bar, meaning to suspend from it a rope-ladder in case of fire. A bar may still be seen before the window, and it is pretty certainly Gray's bar. And by it hangs a tale of damp straw, smoke, midnight cries of " Fire ", a butt of water, the horse-laughter of practical jokers, and a soused poet indignantly demanding admission to Pembroke. But it isn't a true tale, though in 1756 Gray did migrate across the road, as in point of fact he had done once before, twenty years earlier—but in the reverse direction. The real explanation for the change is to be found in the note of Gray's biographer, the poet Mason :—

"The reason of Mr. Gray's changing his college, which is here only glanced at, was, in a few words, this: two or three young men of fortune, who lived in the same staircase, had for some time intentionally disturbed him with their riots and carried their ill behaviour so far as frequently to awaken him at midnight. After having borne with their insults longer than might reasonably have been expected from a man of his warmth of temper, Mr. Gray complained to the governing part of the Society [he was not himself a Fellow]; and, not thinking that his remonstrance was sufficiently attended to, quitted the college."

Among distinguished Petreians not named so far, the following should be mentioned: Cardinal Beaufort; Archbishop Whitgift, who was a Fellow in the interval between being an undergraduate of Queens' and Master of Pembroke; the "metaphysical" singer of St. Teresa, Richard Crashaw, represented on one of the Hall windows with palet and maul-stick, of whom Abraham Cowley, in one of the finest elegies in our language, proudly proclaims:—

Poet and *Saint*! to thee alone are given
The two most sacred *Names* of *Earth* and *Heaven.*
The hard and rarest *Union* that can be
Next that of *Godhead* with *Humanitie*;

and a series of most distinguished physicists, among whom (if we exclude the living) Dewar was the last. The first was Henry Cavendish, a unique figure in the annals of science for two reasons: he went to the Royal Society to listen rather than be listened to. and his will was proved for above a million sterling. Lord Kelvin installed electric light in his College at

the miraculously early date of 1883; an engine-house was built on the premises and some of the archaic-looking switches which he designed may still be seen fulfilling their original functions in a few odd chambers. Clerk-Maxwell, though his fame is more frequently associated with that of Trinity, was, like Isaac Barrow before him, an undergraduate of Peterhouse, and was beaten for the Senior Wranglership of his year (1854) by another Peterhouse man, the great coach E. J. Routh.

Beyond the main buildings of Peterhouse lie, to the west, Gisborne Court, built 1825–6, and called after the benefactor who bequeathed the money for its construction; to the south, approached through the Screens, the little deer-park (of recent origin) or Grove, and, beyond that again, "the garden beyond the Grove" that marches with Coe Fen. In Cambridge, ubiquitous though the perambulator may seem, nursemaids do not, as in Oxford, air their charges in College grounds; otherwise the Peterhouse Garden or Grove would seem a spot nothing less than ideal for basking and gossip and large rubber balls on a sleepy July afternoon. By the kindness of the Master and Fellows, it is, however, open to the public at all hours in which one could reasonably expect to enjoy its amenities.

As we cross the runnels Pot and Pem to Pembroke, the first thing to arrest our attention is the Chapel of that College, affording a very interesting contrast to the two buildings opposite which at one time and another have met the religious needs of Peterhouse men. Little St. Mary's Church, naturally enough, proclaims its mediaeval design quite un-

ashamed; in Peterhouse Chapel it is masked, but not hidden, by Italianate trimmings; but the chapel of Pembroke is the earliest English building of the kind to break entirely with Gothic conceptions.

It too owes its origin to Matthew Wren, who, while a prisoner in the Tower during the Commonwealth, had made a solemn vow to himself and his God that, if it should ever please the latter to bestow on him the wherewithal to do it, he would invest in some pious undertaking a sum at least equal to what during his imprisonment he had received in charity. On his restoration to the See of Ely he discharged this vow by a benefaction of more than £5,000 (*plus* an endowment for repairs) to the College at which he had received his education. For his architect he employed his nephew, Christopher Wren, and if we except a porch of Ely Cathedral, Pembroke Chapel is the earliest work of his to be finished. The Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford was apparently planned a little earlier in the same year, 1663; but, in the words of Sir Lawrence Weaver, "Pembroke Chapel is . . . of much greater artistic interest than the Sheldonian, and, being completed long before the theatre, was no doubt the model to which people turned, in Wren's early days of architecture, as the proof of his real capacity in his new profession". An organ has been inserted and a clock removed, but otherwise the building, internally and externally, remained substantially as Wren left it until (1879–81) the second Scott added, most successfully, a fifth bay of stone at the east end to balance Wren's stone frontage on Trumpington Street. Matthew Wren and three other members of his family lie buried in the Chapel, which has a noble east window.

Otherwise, there is little of great beauty or architectural interest in Pembroke. In the First Court, a small part to the right of the entrance gateway and a rather larger piece in the far left-hand corner near the Hall are all that remains of the earliest buildings, constructed about 1860. The imposing chimneys, successfully copied in the newest buildings abutting to the east, are seen to best advantage from Pembroke Street. The old Library on the left of the gateway stands on the site of the earlier chapel, and much of the old fabric of 1860 is incorporated in it. The beautiful oak door, immediately to the left as you enter the first Court from the street, should be noticed. This, by the way, was the earliest chapel in Cambridge within College precincts. Before that inmates of Colleges had used their parish churches.

The explorer passing through the Screens into the Second Court has immediately to his right, on the first floor of the handsome Hitcham building (1659), the chambers in which Gray, faithfully attended by his niece Mary Antrobus, died in 1771. A few terms later they were occupied by William Pitt. The Court on which the rooms look out is still called Ivy Court, though the old buildings have recently been stripped of that dispiriting vegetable, which now only survives to mask the frightfulness of the Hall. The chambers opposite the Hitcham building were put up in 1633, except for the farthest staircase, which was added thirty-seven years afterwards. The Hall, designed by Waterhouse, dates from 1875.

To the north of the present Garden, backing on to Pembroke Street and Tennis Court Road, and connected by a bridge with the older parts of the College, stand Pembroke's latest new buildings, begun in 1879

by Mr. George Gilbert Scott. A little heavy perhaps and over-ornamented about the ground-floor windows and gables, they rank among the most satisfying among the Cambridge "new buildings". The same can unfortunately not be said of the Hall and Combination Room, the Library and Clock Tower, and the Chambers on Trumpington Street put up in 1871–5. At least *we* cannot say it; but, according to Mr. Ronald Knox's *Memories of the Future*, our successors may prize this "Waterhouse Gothic" as among the gems of old Cambridge, as some of our ancestors a hundred years ago thought the Fourth Court of John's the structure best worth seeing in town and University.

Pembroke is a very ancient house, founded as far back as 1347 by Countess Marie of Valence, formerly of St. Pol. Though never either wealthy or, until quite recent times, large in numbers, it has fostered a goodly host of most distinguished men.

Of these Pitt and Gray have been mentioned; also Mason, Gray's friend and biographer.

Pembroke's greatest nurseling, however, is Edmund Spenser. At Pembroke, whither he came a poet already in 1569, and where he resided for some years, he made friends "with many a gentle Muse and many a learned wit". He read Plato and Chaucer, Virgil and Virgil's translator, the rejuvenator (with Wyat) of English poesy, Surrey. He enjoyed the company of Edward Kirke, the "E. K." of the Introduction to *The Shepherd's Calendar*, of the Master of his College, John Young, who as "faithful Roffy" appears in the body of that work; and of "the most excellent and learned, both orator and poete, Mayster Gabriell Harvey", one of the Fellows,

recently imported from Christ's. Harvey set up to be "the grand Cham of Literature" in his age, and, in particular, wished to substitute for the English system of prosody which, after a century and a half of riot, was attempting to live by rule once more, a mensuration by quantity, according to Latin and Greek patterns. He did his utmost to win over young Spenser to his views, and the fate of all English poetry hung in the balance for a few moments while Harvey and his young friend, deep in argument, paced the Pembroke Court or strolled in the Garden. All Harvey's oratory proved vain however: Spenser, though momentarily converted, loved his Chaucer too much; and, after a last demonstration in force in 1579, Harvey retired from *that* fray, as the *Shepherd's Calendar* of that year and *The Fairie Queen* of 1590 testify.

Apart from Spenser, the great Pembroke men of the English Renaissance were for the most part prelates. A succession of truly remarkable Masters, from Rotherham, who took office while the Wars of the Roses still raged, down to Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, at the conclusion of Elizabeth's reign, have left an unmistakable mark on the ecclesiastical and educational development of England. The most famous of them undoubtedly was the martyr Nicholas Ridley, who held the mastership from 1540 to the accession of Mary, and who, in his farewell letter, after thanking his "loving mother and tender Nurse, Cambridge", for all her kindness, remembered more particularly the "right worshipful Colledge . . . of late mine own colledge my cure and my charge". Samuel Harsnet, who was Master from 1605 to 1616, wrote *A Declaration of Egregious*

Popishe Impostures, a very curious production which has been saved from oblivion by the circumstance that Shakespeare knew it and found there the names of the foul fiends who possess "Poor Tom" in *King Lear*: Flibbertigibbet, Smulkin, Modo, and Mahu.

From the eighteenth century two other names should be rescued: those of Dr. Roger Long, Master from 1733 to 1770, and of Christopher Smart.

Long was Master, then, when Gray took up his final abode in this College. He was a lover of the Muses, something of a wit, the author of *The Blessedness of Believing*, a scientist according to his lights and F.R.S., a zealous amateur mechanic, and was nominated to the Vice-Chancellorship of the University at the advanced age of eighty-nine.

From his back windows, which then looked out upon the Master's garden (where the present Library and Clock Tower have been erected), Gray could from time to time behold this august person amusing himself (and, no doubt, other eager juniors crowded to the windows) in "a beautiful and large Bason in the middle of the Garden . . . in a Machine of his contrivance, to go with the foot as he rides therein"—which has most plausibly been identified with a water-velocipede. Dr. Long also constructed, with the aid of an ingenious tin-smith of the town, a working model of the solar system large enough to accommodate thirty persons; and he anticipated by a century and a half a recent Provost of Worcester College, Oxford, by setting up a private printing-press in his Lodge.

Christopher Smart (Fellow in 1745) is with the rehabilitation of eighteenth-century poetry gradually becoming recognized as one of the major British

poets, and not merely by a few enthusiasts. His fame rests on *A Song to David*, written long after he had left Cambridge, but he is closely associated with the place through his comedy of *A Trip to Cambridge, or the Grateful Fair*, which, acted in the College Hall during 1747, must be one of the last, if not the very last, example of the College drama so popular in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

X

THE COLLEGES: QUEENS', ST. CATHARINE'S, AND CORPUS CHRISTI

QUEENS' COLLEGE rears its magnificent gateway, with embattled towers appropriate to a royal foundation, in Queens Lane. The little street, quiet enough to-day, was once upon a time, under the style of Milne Street or Mill Street, one of the main thoroughfares of the town. It connected in a fairly straight line Silver Street (then called Small Bridges Street) and Trinity Lane (then St. Michael's Lane), passing, in its course, first Queens' on the left, then St. Catharine's and God's House on the right, after that Clare and Trinity Hall on the left again, with the Master's Garden of Caius opposite the latter. When Henry VI started to build the Chapel of King's College, clean across the old street, its usefulness as a direct thoroughfare, which had begun to wane in importance in proportion as the Colleges were making the water-front inaccessible to the citizens of the town, came to an end. The traffic that formerly used it was mostly diverted to the High Street, as the sequence of Trumpington Street, King's Parade, Trinity Street, and St. John's Street was then called.

Peterhouse and Pembroke belong to the first period of College foundation, which extends from

1280 to the establishment of Corpus Christi in 1352, and during which, besides these three, Clare, Caius, and Trinity Hall sprang up. After that there was at Cambridge a lull in activities of this kind for nearly three generations. Then comes a mid-fifteenth-century group of three Houses, consisting of King's, Queens', and St. Catharine's. All of them are intimately associated with " the royal Saint ", Henry VI, of the House of Lancaster. He himself founded King's, one of the first Provosts of his new College founded St. Catharine's, and his wife, Margaret of Anjou, then but eighteen years old and, in years at least, far from the cursing harridan of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, assumed in 1448 the patronage of a " newely ordeined and stablisshed . . . collage of seint Bernard in the universite of Cambrigge . . . to be called and named the Quenes collage of sainte Margarete and saint Bernard ".

The fifteenth century, it will be observed, recked as little of apostrophes as the present-day town-fathers responsible for the name " Queens Lane ". By " Quenes " the engrosser of Queen Margaret's petition doubtless meant what we should spell as " Queen's ". But the appellation by which the College of St. Bernard and St. Margaret now goes is " Queens' "—which differentiates it from its " opposite number " at Oxford, the foundation of 1340 named in honour of Queen Philippa and of her alone. The slight change in spelling owes its origin to the patronage of Elizabeth Woodville, the Queen of the Yorkist Edward IV. The Yorkists continued to show as much favour to the new House as the Lancastrians had done, and the badge of much maligned Richard III was for a time sported by the House to which he had showed some favour.

Queen Margaret's foundation was not the result of an inspiration of her own; it was not even an unhatched egg of other laying that she took under her wing. The College of Saint Margaret and Saint Bernard was already in being, though as yet little more than a name. Its founder, Andrew Dokett, Rector of St. Botolph's, had acquired a charter for it in December 1446, with the idea of establishing it on the eastern side of Queens Lane, where the Master's Lodge of St. Catharine's now stands. On winning Margaret of Anjou's favour less than a year later, he acquired land on the other side of the street, and by April 1448 the contracts for his buildings were placed. The structure itself was probably finished in the course of the following year (1449). The first Court of Queens' therefore, a magnificent, homogeneous specimen of late mediaeval domestic architecture, is the oldest complete court in Cambridge to stand to-day virtually as it did when the builder's men pulled down the scaffolds. In 476 years only the great sundial, of 1642, and the battlements on the south side (just to the left of the gateway) and over the Hall oriel-window have been added.

As the plan of the principal Court at Queens' represents, in a manner, the norm to which all others may be referred, it claims a little special attention. It is the ordinary plan, more or less, of a large mansion of the time. The range which comprises the gateway and the range to the left of it were made up of Chambers, that is to say separate living- and sleeping-rooms—colleges never had common sleeping-rooms, like monasteries and schools, or common living-rooms on a large scale. Over the gateway itself, in the immediate guardianship of the sturdy

porter, lay the College Treasury; on the right of the entrance, aligned east and west (pretty well), lay the Chapel with the Ante-Chapel, entered by a little passage in the middle of the north wall. On the far side of this passage came more Chambers on the ground floor, over them the Library, which also served as a passage to the Chapel from the Master's apartments in the north-west corner. The Master accordingly could keep an eye on the main Court, the entrance gateway with the Treasury, and could go in comfort and speed to Chapel, to the Library, to the Parlour underneath his rooms, and to the Hall, which abuts on the Parlour to the south. On the far side of the Hall-passage came, first the Butteries, which purvey uncooked supplies (drinks, butter, cheese, fruit, and, more recently, tobacco, biscuits, etc.), and then, in the south-west corner of the Court, the Kitchens. When we reach these, we have made the complete circuit of the Court. It may be added that the distribution of rooms to-day is almost the same as it was in Queen Margaret's time. Only the Chapel has lost its original function; and perhaps that might not have taken place if the abolition of compulsory chapels had not come *just* too late to ease the strain of the numbers increased by nineteenth-century reforms.

Before going outside this Court we should step into the Hall, handsomely renovated in 1732–4 and again by Bodley and William Morris in 1861–75, and we should raise also our eyes above the Hall passage to the College's escutcheon, which it derived from its first foundress. In Professor Hamilton Thompson's words: "This magnificent piece of heraldry, which attracts all eyes by its prominent situation in the first

Court, recalls the claims of the House of Anjou to European sovereignty. The unfortunate history of Margaret's father, René of Provence, and her brother, the Duke of Calabria, is the key to the shield. Its quarterings include the arms of the Kingdoms of Hungary, the two Sicilies, and Jerusalem in the upper half, and in the lower those of the county of Anjou and the Duchies of Bar and Lorraine."

At each exterior corner of the First Court the architect (who is conjectured to have been the same as built Eton and the old Court of King's) set up a square tower, one of which enjoys peculiar celebrity. It is in the fine rooms connected with the turret that looks down the unnamed lane parallel with the river at the south-west angle of the First Court that Desiderius Erasmus lodged during his Cambridge residence, from 1511 to 1514. Erasmus had been made a Doctor of Divinity of Cambridge on an earlier visit to England, in 1506, and was an intimate friend of John Fisher, the prelate whose beneficence is writ large in the history of the University in which he held many offices and finally that of Chancellor. Fisher held the Presidentship of Queens' from 1505 to 1508, and it was he probably who procured so honourable a guest for his old College. Fuller, at one time a member of Queens', suggests as an alternative that he was "allured with the situation of this College so near the River (as Rotterdam, his native place, to the Sea) with pleasant walks thereabouts". Erasmus does not appear to have been very happy at Cambridge, and is said to have worked off his spleen riding with a fierce countenance round and round the market-place on horse-back. For one thing, he found the College ale, faithful

Fuller says, "raw, small, and windy"; for another he met with small success as a public teacher in theology and the new subject of Greek; numbers were small and (as he complains) fees smaller. But in a less obtrusive manner Erasmus did a great work. One reputed side of it will be mentioned when we consider the foundation of Christ's. To his more certain credit we may place the comparative peacefulness with which the new learning penetrated into Cambridge—as contrasted, for example, with the fierce opposition which it encountered at Paris and Oxford—as well as the stimulus to humanistic studies which he applied privately to a few distinguished individuals, who after his departure were to leaven the lump: such as Bryan, Watson, and Croke (the first Reader of Greek in the University, 1519); and it has been claimed for this leavening of his that it ensured the intellectual ferment which made Cambridge, with astonishing suddenness, the foremost University of England, after playing second fiddle to Oxford for so many centuries. Lastly, the failure to secure a large following enabled Erasmus to devote more time to literary work; and at Cambridge he did most of his truly epoch-making work on his editions of the *New Testament* and Jerome.

Already by Erasmus's time Queens' College had spread beyond the confines of the original Court. The old building on the river front had probably been built in 1460, and, before the end of the century, had been connected to the Master's tower and the Screens by cloisters, which were continued in front of the river-building at the same time.

But the greatest glory of the Cloister Court was not added until about 1537–41, when the President's

QUEENS' COLLEGE AND SILVER STREET BRIDGE

Gallery was superimposed on the older northern cloister. This beautiful building, in some ways the loveliest thing among many lovely things in Cambridge, consists internally of one long room, part of the President's Lodge. A Master's Gallery of this kind was, at one time, a common feature of the Cambridge Colleges; but now only this and the Picture Gallery at Emmanuel remain. To begin with, apparently, the Queens' Gallery was outwardly even more magnificent than it is now; one of Loggan's prints of 1688 or thereabouts shows that two (and probably all three) of the windows on the Court side were double-decker bow-windows, resting on wooden pillars and surmounted by lofty turrets. They presumably proved too heavy and had to be reduced to the present dimensions, the middle window remaining closest to the original design for all three.

Passing down the middle of Cloister Court, you approach, forthright, the so-called Mathematical Bridge. If Newton, as is often alleged, had anything to do with it, it must have been in designing an earlier bridge, from which the present one was directly copied. For it definitely dates from 1749, by which year Newton had been lying in Westminster Abbey for twenty-two years. To the left or south of the Cloister Court lies Pump Court (the pump has gone) enclosed on two sides by the building which the architect Essex erected in 1756–60. It is said to contain comfortable rooms, and its ugliness seems due more to the particularly obnoxious bricks used than to any viciousness of design.

After inspecting Pump Court, which affords a good view of Erasmus's tower (it is the one in the extreme corner) you may cross Cloister Court along the side

of the Hall and enter the incomplete courtyard to the north of the Principal Court. It is called Walnut Tree Court, after the great tree which presides over a riot of crocuses in mid-March. The old building on the side farthest from the tree was put up in 1618 on a site mostly occupied before by a Carmelite Friary; it was much renovated in 1778. The new Chapel was put up in 1890, the block parallel with it further north in 1886, and the range connecting the two in 1912.

At no College was more eagerness displayed over the almost compulsory dramatic performances of the Renaissance period than at Queens'. As late as 1638, four short years before the Puritan storm broke before the gates of Hull, the President and Fellows actually constructed a new "stage-house", and, tradition reports, an earlier generation had elected into a Fellowship a promising young man on no better grounds than that he had acquitted himself well in Plautus's *Miles Gloriosus*. But—melancholy instance of the ill success attending a deliberate cult of the Muses—the contribution of Queens' to poetry and *belles-lettres* has been virtually nothing. Its worthies have been honest, but dull for the greater part, and Mr. Creevey of *The Creevey Papers* forms the only patch of colour amidst a sea of cassocks, aprons, and shovel-hats.

Over the way from Queens' stands the gateway of St. Catharine's College, founded in 1476 by Robert Woodlark, third Provost of King's. Of the little court which Woodlark built contiguous to Mill Street, north of the present gateway, no more remains than of the companion buildings south of it which were

put up early in the sixteenth century. The earliest surviving building is the range of 1636 backing on to Queens Lane nearest to King's. It consists of the College Kitchen and some Chambers, and is known alternatively as Bull Court or Walnut Tree Court.

The remainder of the principal College buildings, though beautiful for their harmony as well as for other qualities, were put up at different times between 1675 (the Hall) and 1757 (the Ramsden Building, diagonally opposite). The Chapel, which with the Hall and Buttery occupies the whole northern side of the Court, was consecrated in 1704. Though altered at the close of the last century, it remains one of the finest examples in Cambridge of those eminently decorous and dignified houses of prayer erected between the decline of one Gothic tradition and the rise of a second. At one time it was proposed to complete the Court by a Library range on Trumpington Street and the ground was cleared in preparation, as it still remains. The Master's Lodge, on the site acquired but never utilized by the College-of-St.-Bernard-which-became-Queens', was built 1875–6. Mr. Fawcett, the architect of the Lodge, took, so Bishop Browne tells us, many of the details for his elevation from Sawston Hall, a mansion lying about seven miles south of Cambridge on the road to Saffron Walden and Bishop's Stortford. As another connexion between this beautiful mansion and the stones of Cambridge concerns St. Catharine's too, it may be detailed in this place.

When King Edward VI died on 6 July 1553, he and his Council had decided that, though the Princess Mary stood next in blood-relationship, Lady Jane Grey should succeed. The King's death was accord-

ingly kept secret for several days and a message sent to Mary to entice her to London, into the Council's power. She set forth from Hunsdon near Ware, but had only proceeded a little way when, at Hoddesdon, twenty-two miles out of London, she was apprised of her brother's death. She turned back forthwith and, pushing on with speed, passed the night at Sir John Huddleston's house at Sawston. Informed of this fact, the Protestant citizens of Cambridge, partisans of Lady Jane Grey, sallied forth in the morning and destroyed the house that had harboured her rival, Mary herself escaping in the clothes of a market-woman to Bury St. Edmunds. There, as in the rest of East Anglia, she was well received, and the tide of public opinion definitely turned in her favour. Cambridge itself did not take long to reconsider its position and proceeded to proclaim her Queen on 19 July. As a reward for his services Sir John Huddleston was granted the stones of Cambridge Castle with which to erect for himself a nobler mansion than that in which he had entertained his Queen in her need. But the outcome of these exciting days was not uniformly happy; the Duke of Northumberland, for instance, who was Chancellor of the University as well as President of the Council, and who had proceeded to Cambridge as soon as the civil commotions began, was beheaded like so many other Chancellors of his century. This fate was prophesied to him by his own Vice-Chancellor at this troubled time—Dr. Edwin Sandys, Master of St. Catharine's, whose ambiguous attitude was more lightly visited. He had been appointed to deliver the University sermon during the brief period of Lady Jane Grey's supremacy, but after a night of

study and prayer delivered so wary a discourse that his enemies could not later use it against him as effectively as they wished. However, he lost his mastership and four " notable good geldings " robbed from his stable, and spent some weeks in the Tower and the Marshalsea. Under Elizabeth he became successively Bishop of Worcester, Bishop of London, and Archbishop of York.

Dr. Sandys, V.C., was a divine, and it is interesting to note with what persistency Robert Woodlark's purpose, to provide a seminary for *theologians*, has continued through the centuries. Almost all the celebrated sons of Catharine, like those of Queens', have been men of God. From their number one should single out the infant prodigy William Wotton (1666–1726), who at the age of five was described as an expert in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and who, by his seventh birthday, had added a knowledge of Arabic and Syriac to his accomplishments. He came up to St. Catharine's at the age of nine and took his degree when he was twelve. Later he took up the study of Anglo-Saxon and Welsh, and gave a characteristically English turn to the new-hatched Quarrel between the Ancients and Moderns by insisting on the Moderns' services to *science*.

For the next great dispute that reft intellectual England, the so-called Bangorian controversy concerning the Nature of the Kingdom of Christ, St. Catharine's provided not merely the instigator, Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor (1676–1761), but also his most prominent antagonist, Dr. Thomas Sherlock (1678–1761), Master of the College and Bishop of three sees in succession. Their portraits hang next to one another in the little Hall. Anyone

going in to look at them will also see a picture of doughty Dr. Sandys and of the Reverend John Ray (1627–1705), one of the first of the great Cambridge scientists, the founder of modern systematic botany and zoology.

Of the non-clerical Catharine men the dramatist James Shirley, author of *The Cardinal* (1596–1666), stands pre-eminent. He was the youngest of the great men of the "Elizabethan Age" so-called, and served in two ways as a link between that epoch and the Restoration period. His comedies, such as *Hyde Park*, for instance, anticipate the methods of Sedley and his successors, and some of his slighter productions, like *The Masque of Cupid and Death*, just managed to keep the drama alive during the Puritan interregnum by means of private performances in ambassadors' houses and the like. Shirley himself survived the Stewart Restoration, but is said, together with his wife, to have died of exposure and shock consequent upon the Great Fire of London.

Historically connected with St. Catharine's are three famous hostelries—one, the Bull, fortunately still alive and flourishing. Thither resort, *par excellence*, all the "nobility and tranquillity, burgomasters and great oneyers" on their visits to Cambridge. The present house that bears the name was put up in 1828, but a Bull Inn stood on this strip of land for generations before that. It came to St. Catharine's College in 1636 by the will of Dr. Gostlin or Gosling, Master of Caius; on part of this site the buildings of 1636 were erected, wherefrom they derive their alternative name of Bull Court. It is said that the Society of Caius used annually to drink confusion to the

memory of " Dr. Gosling, who was such a goose as to leave the Bull to Catharine ". But their solemn execration has probably not availed much; for, as Fuller argues, " If he who giveth a night's lodging to a servant of God shall not lose his reward, certainly he that bestoweth *Inn and all* upon the sons of the prophets shall find full compensation ". To the north of the Bull stood the White Horse which, during the 1520's, was the usual meeting-place of the Reforming theologians of Cambridge, those in whom the seed sown by Erasmus a few years earlier had brought fruit so little to their mentors' taste. On account of their sympathy with the monk of Wittenberg they were called " Germans " and their place of assembly " Germany ". The most distinguished of these who, perforce, came to this tavern by byways and in the dark was Coverdale, the Bible translator. Tyndale, with whose name his is generally associated, may have first met him here, but that is uncertain.

The third hostelry, on a site parallel with the other two, but to the south of the Bull, was the George Inn, the property of the Hobson family. The greatest of them, Thomas Hobson, we have met with once before; he still lives in local memory and sometimes serves to adorn a tale with as little historical warranty as his alleged exertions on behalf of " his " conduit. The arts, too, have immortalized the rough old man. A vast but gloomy portrait of him hangs in the large room of the Guildhall, and when he died in 1630 at the age of eighty-six, Milton, who no doubt knew him personally, wrote two elegies on the event, the former almost perfect in its combination of playfulness and tender feeling :—

On the University Carrier who sickn'd in the time of his vacancy, being forbid to go to London, by reason of the Plague.

Here lies old *Hobson*, Death hath broke his girt,
And here, alas, hath laid him in the dirt,
Or els the ways being foul, twenty to one,
He's here stuck in a slough and overthrown.
'Twas such a shifter, that if truth were known,
Death was half glad when he had got him down;
For he had any time this ten yeers full,
Dodg'd with him, betwixt *Cambridge* and the Bull.[1]
And surely, Death could never have prevail'd,
Had not his weekly cours of carriage fail'd;
But lately finding him so long at home,
And thinking now his journeys end was come,
And that he had tane up his latest Inne,
In the kind office of a Chamberlin
Shew'd him his room where he must lodge that night,
Pull'd off his Boots, and took away the light:
If any ask for him, it shall be sed,
Hobson has supt, and's newly gon to bed.

Of Thomas Hobson's well-known manner of running a livery stable Mr. Hezekiah Thrift writes in *The Spectator* for 14 October, 1712:—

Mr. Hobson kept a stable of forty good cattle, always ready and fit for travelling; but when a man came for a horse, he was led into the stable, where there was a great choice, but he obliged him to take the horse which stood next to the stable door, so that every customer was alike well served according to his chance, and every horse ridden with the same justice: from whence it became a proverb, when what ought to be your election was forced upon you to say "Hobson's choice".

This, too, sounds apocryphal. Surely Hobson's staff would have found the perpetual general post of thirty-nine steeds more than a nuisance!

[1] In Bishopsgate, London.

Before leaving St. Catharine's I should just remark that the proper name here is spelled with two A's, which distinguishes it from St. Catherine's at Oxford (mnemotechnic: Cambridge has an A in it, Oxford hasn't), and that, high and low, it is known as " Cats ". A similar consideration serves to distinguish Magdalene and Magdalen.

If you have fairly keen eyes, you may, on crossing the road from St. Catharine's to Corpus and walking a few steps towards St. Botolph's, discern at the extreme right of the building facing you and about seven feet from the pavement a half-obliterated notice, " Henslow Common Informer ". This Henslow was no eighteenth-century thieftaker, as one might guess, but a respectable Professor of Botany and the earliest mentor of Charles Darwin. He was greatly concerned to purify the public life of his time, and the mural inscription represents the view of his activities which the other side took at the election of 1825.

Among the Cambridge Colleges, the College of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Mary boasts a unique site and unique origin, both of which tend to make it in a way the " towniest " of them. It is the only House to stand complete in the viscera of Cambridge, that irregular triangle formed by the inner sides of the two main streets and the King's Ditch; and, whereas the foundation of all the other Colleges has been due to individual munificence, either royal or private, the sponsors of this House were two local corporations, fraternities, or gilds. These were not simply trade-gilds confined to followers of one particular calling as were the best-remembered gilds, of

large cities like London and York, but a mixture of profit-making concern, convivial club, and insurance company against the risks of this world and the next.

The more opulent of these two, the Gild of Corpus Christi, which was attached to the Church of St. Benedict, a little before the middle of the fourteenth century felt itself urged by the purely practical desire to " build a college, where persons might be trained up in academical living, and fitted for putting up supplications to God for the souls of every one of the Fraternity as he departed out of this life. With which view those of the brethren who had houses on a particular site in the parishes of St. Bene't and St. Botolph . . . had them pulled down, and with one consent set about building a college in their room ". A little later they amalgamated with the Gild of St. Mary (attached to Great St. Mary's) and obtained a royal licence for their foundation, which was, in fact, already in being. The date of the licence is 1352. The connexion between the College and the parent-body did not remain very intimate, though it was not lost from sight. In especial did the gild and the burgesses of the town, as is very natural, cling to the annual dinner in the College Hall which used to wind up the Corpus Christi procession, and bitterly did they resent, with equal reason, the College's action at a later date, when a change in religious convictions had suppressed the procession, in docking the dinner too. A relic of these carousals survives in a very fine drinking-horn, given to the Gild of Corpus Christi in 1347 by Alderman Goldcorne, which is still handed round to the confusion of the uninitiate at those solemn dinners to which Cambridge and Oxford give such a

bacchanalian hue by calling them "Feasts" and "Gaudies" respectively.

For nearly five centuries the foundation of the Gild of the Precious Body of Jesus Christ and the Glorious Virgin Mary was commonly known as "Bene't College", from the fact that St. Benedict's or Benet's Church had so long served it as College Chapel. The gallery connecting the College with the Church may best be seen from Free School Lane, and forms one of the most picturesque "views" of the College. When, in 1827, the old entrance-passage to the College past the tower of St. Bene't's was supplanted by the present entrance from Trumpington Street, the connexion between the College and the parish church, already weakened by the consecration of a separate College chapel early in the seventeenth century, was lost from most people's memory and the old familiar appellation of "Bene't" dropped.

The buildings in process of construction when the royal licence of 1352 was procured formed part of the lovely Old Court, completed in 1377. This was the earliest closed quadrangle in Cambridge and three and a half sides of it remain virtually intact to this day. It is interesting to compare its plan with that of Queens', which is completer in every way, though of course nearly a century later. On the south side of the Corpus court there originally followed in the order named (beginning from the south-west corner): Kitchen, Buttery, Hall Passage (these three were destroyed a hundred years ago), Hall (the present College Kitchen), Combination Room or Parlour, with the Master's Rooms above it. The remaining three sides of the quadrangle were all occupied by Chambers, except for one room next

the Master's Lodgings, which contained the Library. The entrance, as one may still see, was of the simplest kind; there was neither Chapel nor special room set aside for the Treasury.

Hardly had Corpus Christi College settled down to its proper routine in the new buildings than they narrowly escaped total destruction. The Peasants' Revolt of 1381, associated elsewhere with the names of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, and primarily and most laudably directed against all tax-gatherers, raged with particular violence in East Anglia, nowhere more so than at Cambridge. There were two additional local incentives to account for this: first, the distrust of lawyers, and then of all men with intellects powerful to decipher the parchments that, in the opinion of the rioters, stood between them on the one side and their King and their rights on the other; second, the strained relations between Town and University which had already broken into a riot a few weeks earlier. It is strange, however, that the mob of Cambridge should have displayed their worst virulence against the townsmen's own foundation of Corpus Christi; but this they did. On 15 June they forced an entry and completely ransacked it, carrying off not only all movables, but also objects like doors and windows which could be wrenched from their fastenings. The documents (and probably the Library too) of the College they destroyed, animated as they were by the fervour which found expression next day in the radical shrieks of ancient Margaret Starre, who screamed out, as the University records were going up into smoke on Market Hill, " away with the learning of the clerks, away with it ". The clerks, however, got their own back very quickly,

through one of their chiefs, Henry Spenser, Bishop of Norwich. "The pious pastor", Capgrave tells us, "therefore left London and came as he was bound to succour his people. And finding certain of this wicked mob at Cambridge he slew some, imprisoned others, and others he sent back to their homes after taking their oath that thenceforth they would never turn out for like purpose."

In the Old Court, where one takes every excuse for returning and lingering, stands a memorial to the greatest son of the Old House (as its inmates delight to call it), Christopher Marlowe, and his fellow-playwright, John Fletcher.

Christopher Marlowe, who, born in 1564, was by eight weeks or so Shakespeare's senior, came up to Corpus from his native city of Canterbury at the beginning of 1581, and remained fairly regularly in residence until he took his degree of M.A. in 1587. Quite probably, therefore, he wrote parts of his first work, the mighty ten-act play of *Tamburlaine the Great* (acted 1587 or 1588), in the ground-floor room to the right on Staircase B, which is most plausibly assigned to him by tradition. Only one serious play of eminence, Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, preceded Marlowe's firstling, and the *Spanish Tragedy*, together with *Tamburlaine* and its successors from the same hand, *The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus*, *The Rich Jew of Malta* and *Edward II*, laid the foundations of English tragedy in an almost incredibly short space of time. By 1595, in all probability, both Kyd and Marlowe were no more, the latter killed at the end of May 1593 in a disreputable fracas at a Deptford public-house by one Ingram Frizer, "a bawdy serving-man". At the time of his death, Marlowe

was suspected of atheistical views, affirming "that Moyses was but a Juggler, and that one Heriots could do more than hee" and other "horreble blasphemes", for which it was at one time fashionable to hold another Corpus man, Francis Kett, responsible. But the unhappy Kett, who because he held his religious views strongly, was burned for them, left Cambridge the year before Marlowe came up and, besides, was no atheist, but a religious maniac.

John Fletcher (1579–1625) is best known for his collaboration with his more gifted junior, Francis Beaumont of Broadgates Hall, Oxford, though in the majority of the works going by their joint names Beaumont certainly had no hand. Fletcher excelled in delineations of courtiers—that is to say, of smart society of his day, with which he had more familiarity than most of his humbler-born rivals; and he clearly pointed the way earlier even than Shirley of St. Catharine's to the succeeding age's Comedy of Manners, of which it has justly been said that in general they were Comedies of very *bad* Manners. Of the closeness of his intimacy with Beaumont several anecdotes are told: the joint possession, for instance, of their wardrobe, which has caused amazed incredulity in many correct critics, who forgot the close parallel between Elizabethan men and present-day ladies. Were they not ever avid of new fashions, particularly if they came from foreign parts? Were they not the curled darlings of the stage and the supporters of literature?

John Fletcher's father, Richard Fletcher, was a Fellow of Corpus. As Dean of Peterboro' he endeavoured to administer spiritual consolation to Mary Stewart at Fotheringay, and the perfervid "Amen"

with which at her execution he responded to the classical formula " So perish all the Queen's enemies ! " is said to have gained him the bishoprics first of Bristol and then of London.

At the other side and end of the Old Court, outside what was the Master's Lodging on the first floor, one may behold, in front of a simple, but highly decorative Venetian window, a sable fowl of aquiline appearance standing in a very prickly-looking kind of nest with its young in the young's notoriously chronic state of famine. It is no eagle, however, not even a heraldic eagle with variable number of necks and heads, but " a pelican in her piety ", as sentimental heralds have it—that is to say, doing with her chest that which is expected of female pelicans. The pelican symbolizes " Corpus Christi " in the College arms, as the lilies with which they are quartered do the Blessed Mary.

Near by an inscription reminds us of Corpus's second very great man, Matthew Parker (1504–75), Master from 1544 to 1553, and Archbishop of Canterbury under Elizabeth. His statue and that of his friend, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Elizabeth's Lord Keeper, flank the entrance to the nineteenth-century chapel in the First Court.

Parker helped and endowed his College in several ways, but his noblest benefaction undoubtedly was the bequest of his great Library, now housed in a building of appropriate spaciousness which occupies the whole southern side (to the right of the gateway) of the First Court (built by Wilkins 1823–7).[1] After

[1] The Library is open to the public during Full Term on Mondays and Wednesdays from 12 to 1, and on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 2.30 to 3.30.

the dissolution of the religious houses, with the discredit that, in a healthy reaction, had overtaken everything "monkish" or related to the old ritual, almost all the old collections of MSS. were broken up. Says Strype :—

> When the Abbeys and Religious Houses were dissolved, and the Books that were contained in the Libraries thereunto belonging, underwent the same fate, being miserably embezzled, and sold away to Tradesmen for little or nothing; then did our *Parker* and some other Lovers of antient Learning procure, both of their Money and their Friends, what Books so ever they could. He was therefore a mighty Collector of Books, to preserve, as much as could be, the antient Monuments of the learned men of our Nation from perishing, and for that purpose he did employ divers Men proper for such an end, to search all *England* over, and *Wales* (and perhaps *Scotland* and *Ireland* too), for Books of all sorts, more modern as well as antient; and to buy them up for his use; giving them Commission and Authority, under his own Hand, for doing the same.

Comparatively few in number though books were in the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century, people seem to have taken much less care of them than they do to-day. As late as the reign of Anne, the bibliophile Herr Uffenbach, who found Cambridge so like the hideous village of Höchst near his native Frankfurt, reports that most of the Cambridge libraries were appallingly neglected. Archbishop Parker knew this and, realizing what powerful motives greed and envy are in human action, applied them to safeguarding his benefaction. If at any time Corpus Christi should be found to have lost any twenty-five MSS., the remainder shall all go to Caius, who in their turn have Trinity Hall suspended like

the sword of Damocles over their heads. An " audit " under these provisions still takes place from time to time.

The chief treasures of Parker's collection are perhaps these : the sixth-century *Gospels*, alleged to have been a present sent from Pope Gregory the Great to St. Augustine shortly after the latter's missionary expedition to South England (Exhibit 1 in the show-cases) ; the oldest and most reliable version of the *Saxon Chronicle* (Exhibit 3) ; the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris (*d.* 1259), the author's own working copy of " the greatest of English mediaeval chronicles ", with the illustrations which Green took for his *History of the English People* (Exhibit 10). Exhibits 2 (Fragments of a Celtic *Gospel*) and 12 (the *Pontifical of the Three Bishops*, showing one of them being very arbitrary with three nuns) are singularly beautiful examples of mediaeval book-decoration. In Exhibit 6 we may see " perhaps the oldest contemporary portrait of a king of England "—Athelstan as he looked in 931.

Underneath part of the Library is accommodated the very interesting and valuable collection of antique coins and gems formed and presented in the nineteenth century by S. S. Lewis, Fellow of the College. In addition to the classes of objects named, it has a few Greek vases, a lovely little Tanagra of a crouching woman, and another interesting terra-cotta statuette of Aphrodite holding a metal mirror—a most unusual feature.[1]

One great Benedictine seems unhonoured by any monument in his own College. Stephen Hales

[1] The Lewis Collection is open on Tuesdays and Fridays in Full Term from 2.30 to 4.30.

(1677–1761) illustrates the perversity of those who, confusing fuss with achievement, place the beginnings of all scientific discovery, nay of truth itself, at the time of their own appearance into the world or, at best, somewhere in the great nineteenth century, while they cry out dolorously on the stagnation of the preceding age. While holding a Fellowship at Corpus (to which he was elected in 1703) Hales worked at chemistry in " the elaboratory at Trinity College ", and there and at Teddington parsonage later he laid the foundations of experimental plant-physiology and animal-physiology. He was the first to determine blood-pressure with any accuracy (see his *Hæmostaticks*), and, like an eminent Indian of our own day, he devoted much time to investigating the movement of sap in plants, which, people before his day believed, circulated after the manner of blood in animals. He was interested, too, in more immediately " practical " matters of various sorts : he effected improvements in the artificial ventilation of buildings and the means of preserving water and solid foods on long voyages ; he wrote *A Friendly Admonition to the Drinkers of Brandy*, and otherwise tried to promote temperance with the ingenious argument that, dram-takers commonly losing their appetites, excessive drinking curtailed the volume of trade in foodstuffs—in other words, that the licensed victuallers' gain was the loss of all other victuallers. Personally he was known for the simplicity of his manners, but he enjoyed the friendship of Pope, Peg Woffington, and the Dowager Princess of Wales, mother to George III.

Corpus is famous not only for men but also for ghosts. One is that of Dr. Henry Butts, who, so to speak, nursed his College and University, of which

he was Vice-Chancellor for three years running, through the plague of 1630 and, two years later, hanged himself in the garters then almost indispensable for the act of self-murder; one fancies that they must have been made of sterner stuff than our modern "hose supporters". The other proves the survival of a young gentleman, who, it is alleged, paid court to his Master's daughter, was hidden in one of the presses of the old Library from an unexpected paternal incursion, and there miserably stifled (or starved) while his lady-love, her papa, and the whole College staff went off on vacation. These spectres inhabit the Old Court, as any spirit of fitness would.

XI

THE COLLEGES: KING'S AND CLARE

SOME indication of the early history of King's has been conveyed by the necessary description in Chapter VI of the structure which now surrounds the West Court of the University Library. For almost four hundred years the Old Court on the north side of the Chapel served as focus for whatever activity might be stirring in the College; but between the day in 1444 when work on it was seriously begun until, still unfinished, it was sold to the University, it was never considered anything more than a make-shift, to serve its turn until such time as the founder's great scheme should fructify fully. What was meant for the modest home of only thirteen scholars had in the end to accommodate the proudest corporation in the University, with a membership increased four-fold. Could anything illustrate better our English rule of "making things do", which does so much in bringing upon us the undeserved, if useful, stigma of inefficiency?

When in 1441 Henry VI laid the foundation-stone of this quadrangle backing on to "the Schools" he had in view the stablishment of quite a small College of St. Nicholas, to consist of a Rector and twelve Scholars, for which, it will be agreed, the site he had

KING'S FROM THE BACKS

acquired would amply have sufficed. But already before the workmen had got well under way he was fired by the desire to emulate the noble example set by William of Wykeham in founding Winchester College and New College, Oxford, and conceived a much more grandiose project. He would unite his College of St. Nicholas with the school he had established at Eton in 1440, and endow it with wealth and privileges before which every other College would seem but a mean thing. It should cover an area of ground considerably in excess of that occupied by all the other Cambridge Colleges put together; it should be exempt from the jurisdiction of diocesan Bishop and University Chancellor, it should (in what for a solitary period of time was the more conservative University in regard to faith) gloriously combine the several excellences of a College and a Monastery.

For realizing his dream of splendour he acquired from the corporation of Cambridge and other landowners almost the whole of that vast estate to the south which *now* forms the local habitation of King's. To this end it was necessary to raze a Church, to move the little College of God's House to the site of its offspring, Christ's, to block up not only Milne Street, but a lane connecting it with High Street (King's Parade) and a number of staithes running down to the river, of which present-day Cambridge has no surviving specimens.

On this great expanse of cleared land Henry VI planned to rear a vast quadrangle—in the architectural style of the time, of course—with a Chapel filling the whole of the north side, a Library, Hall, and Buttery on the west or river side, Lodgings for the

Head (now called no longer Rector but Provost) to the south and east of the Hall, with Chambers in three stories along the east side and the remainder of the south side, where the Hall and adjacent buildings now stand. But that was not all: between the Hall and the river there was to be a substantial quadrangle of offices (larger by itself than the Old Court), and, between this Kitchen Court and Clare, the Chapel and the river, a magnificent *Campo Santo*, or Cloistered Cemetery, surmounted in the middle of its western side by a Tower 120 feet high exclusive of the pinnacles at the four corners. Advanced a little way from the eastern range towards High Street, a Gatehouse and Tower were to overawe the town, and an embattled wall, fourteen feet high, was intended to surround the whole site, even on the river bank.

Of this great scheme only the Chapel was ever undertaken—and to it let us now betake ourselves forthwith. For to most visitors to Cambridge the word "King's", sometimes the word "Cambridge" too, stands for nothing more than this College Chapel, certainly the most imposing monument in the Town and University, and perhaps the finest specimen in England of the architecture of its time.

Its outward appearance, it must be confessed, is not altogether commensurate with the magnificence of its interior; there is, for once, a good deal of justice in John Ruskin's criticism, which likened it to a table "upside down, with [its] four legs in the air". But in appraising the effectiveness of the outside we have always to bear in mind that there alone are we perpetually confronted with the inevitable defects of the interior's rare qualities, and that, as has already been made clear, the founder intended

this "Chirche" of his to form but one side of a quadrangle of comparable sumptuousness.

The foundation-stone of King's College Chapel was laid, perhaps by the King in person, on 25 July 1446, and work upon it went on slowly throughout the remainder of Henry VI's reign and, almost imperceptibly, during the reigns of Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III. Not until the last year of Henry VII's reign (1508–9), when the outer walls were only a few feet high except at the very west, was the work pushed forward with much energy. The fabric was completed by July 1515. In the main, successive clerks of works adhered to Henry VI's original design when he contemplated a church "without any yles" which should contain "a reredos beryng the Rodeloft departyng [separating] the quere and the body of the chirch," "and betwix euery of the . . . boteraces [buttresses] in the body of the chirche, on bothe sides of the same chirche, a closette with an auter therein. . . ." Such a design was new to England, though a similar one had been executed at Albi in the South of France for the cathedral there in the previous century and copied for other churches of the neighbourhood. The history of its adaptation to English conditions is a blank. The office of architect had not yet established itself as a separate function, and to Reginald Ely, master-mason, apparently belongs most of the credit for the plan. For all the adherence to the original scheme, the work done during the lifetime of the two Henries is not perfectly homogeneous. For one thing, their builders used different stone: Henry VI's a white magnesian limestone from two quarries in the neighbourhood of Sherburn-in-Elmet in Yorkshire; Henry VII's a

slightly yellower and more durable oölite from Weldon in Northamptonshire. (The dividing-line between the two can best be seen on the west front.) More important than that by far, one of the particular glories of the edifice, the fan-tracery vaulting of the ceiling, was not dreamed of by Henry VI; indeed, in his so-called Will he deprecated in set terms all "superfluyte of too grete curyous workes of entaylle [ornamentation] and besy moldyng". What form the vaulting would have assumed if the work had been pushed on to completion during the founder's lifetime may be inferred from the ceilings of the two side-chapels first finished, those furthest towards the altar on the north side. The vaulting-piers in the Antechapel, which go right down to the pavement, are of a different pattern from those of the Chapel proper, which spring out half-way up: their greater elaborateness, which in the end proved unnecessary, shows that they were originally planned to carry a roof of such a "lierne" pattern as that adopted in these two "closettes".

In the same year as the fabric stood completed, the first contract for filling the windows was placed with Barnard Flower, the royal glazier, who however lived to complete only four of them. At his death a sextette of glaziers was appointed in his stead and their work apparently completed by 1531. It represents, in orderly sequence, the *New Testament* story, supplemented by the legendary biography of the Virgin Mary. It starts with Anna and Joachim at the Golden Gate of the Temple and the Birth of the Virgin in the principal lower lights of the westernmost windows of the north side, and continues up to the Crucifixion, which occupies the great east window;

then follow, along the south side, the events leading up to the Ascension and Pentecost, a few further incidents from the *Acts of the Apostles* and, finally, in the two westernmost windows of the south side, the Death, Burial, Assumption, and Coronation of the Virgin. Except in the east window, this sequence of events is pictured in the principal lights below the transom; the incidents shown above are "prefigurations" as they were called—that is to say, the *Old Testament* parallels which ingenious theologians found to occurrences reported in the *Gospels*. Thus, in the sixth window of the south side (reckoning from the Antechapel end) we see the Ascension prefigured in Elijah's Ascent to Heaven on the flaming chariot and the Descent of the Holy Ghost paralleled by Moses's reception of the two Tables of the Law. Between each pair of events commemorated in every window stands a messenger with a Latin inscription of the *New Testament* text in question.

The west window was probably never filled with coloured glass before 1879, when the present representation of the Last Judgment, the obvious conclusion of the whole series, was inserted.

In no major English church—and that is probably equivalent to saying in no English church of any size—not even in York Minster, which holds the record for acreage, is the proportion of glass to stone so great as here. How the fanatical eyes of Mr. Dowsing must have gleamed as they fell upon them! The prospect of so much smashing quite discomposed his faculties and his none too lucid style, so that the entry in his journal assumes the following incoherent shape: "King's Colledg, Decemb. 26. Steps to be taken and 1 thousand Superstitious Pictures ye

layder of Christ and theves to goe upon and many crosses and Jesus write upon them". Tradition has it that while Mr. Dowsing was taking (which probably means fetching) steps, the devoted society of King's in a single cold December night removed every particle of their treasured glass and buried it. It is a great deal more probable that they avoided such trouble by the modest sum of 6s. 8d., which according to the College account-books was disbursed to Mr. Dowsing at that time.

After the provision of glass came the woodwork. The magnificent rood-loft—which was perhaps built too late ever to support a rood—dates from the time when Anne Boleyn was Queen (1532–6); it bears her arms quartered with those of Henry VIII and an ox's head, supposed to be a punning allusion to her surname. Previous to 1606 we know that one of the King's Society used to "jubilate upon the organs", but we cannot be certain that any instrument was installed over the screen until that date. The angels blowing their golden trumps with their backs disrespectfully turned to the altar are nineteenth-century work, though similar figures stood there in the past. The stalls date from about the same time as the rood-loft—all except the coats-of-arms and canopies above them; the arms date from 1625; the canopies and the decidedly more classical wainscoting to the east of them were carved by Cornelius Austin about 1675. The still more classical, extremely handsome modern work round the altar was not completed until 1911. The picture of the "Deposition" is commonly attributed to Daniele da Volterra.

The low side-chapels between the buttresses, which

mainly contribute to any distaste that a prolonged study of the exterior may induce, were originally meant for chantries, in which mass might be said for the souls of specified benefactors. In practice many of them are used as vestries and store-rooms. Two of those leading out of the Antechapel on the south side, as well as the further of the two with the "lierne" roofs, contain glass older than the Chapel itself. It may have come from the Abbey of Ramsey, Hunts, or, more probably, from that parish church of St. John Zachary, which Henry VI destroyed when he cleared the ground for his College. In the farthest Chapel to the right of the altar is enshrined the King's College War Memorial (1914–19), which enumerates in the second place the name of Rupert Brooke, the poet. An inscription placed puzzlingly apart—"Pensioner, Ferenc Bekassy"—refers to a Hungarian Kingsman who fell fighting on the other side.

The Antechapel, it should be noted, is not quite such holy ground as the Chapel proper beyond the organ. Great junketings took place there in August 1564, when Queen Elizabeth saw three plays acted before her on successive nights, and would have seen a fourth but for the weakness of the flesh. The lucky plays singled out for submission to royalty were a farce of Plautus's, acted on Sunday night, "a Tragedie named *Dido*, in [Latin] hexametre verse, without anie chorus", by Edmund Halliwell, and *Ezechias*, an English play by Nicholas Udall, who is better known for his comedy, *Ralph Roister Doister*. The only illumination, we are told, was provided by the Queen's guard, every man of whom carried a "torchstaff" in his hand, and audience and stage must have looked extremely romantical. Thomas

Preston of King's acted so nicely in *Dido*, and looked so handsome and disputed so well at the public disputations with which and riding a-horseback the Queen occupied her days, that she tipped him heavily, gave him her royal and virginal hand to kiss, and settled an annuity of £20 on him. Preston later wrote some bombastic plays, from one of which the expression "in *King Cambyses*' vein" derives. He became Master of Trinity Hall in 1585 and was buried in the Chapel there.

In 1924 again the Antechapel was given over to theatricals, when a company from the Royal Victoria Hall, or "Old Vic", performed the gloomy morality play of *Everyman*. Concessions were made to the sanctity of the further half of the building by the suppression of applause, but, even so, most of the newspapers spoke of the venue as an anti-chapel.

The architectural history of the rest of the King's buildings still in the occupation of the College is more quickly told. By far the finest of them is Gibbs's Building (1724–30) at right angles to the Chapel, the magnificent block designed by the architect who had just been employed on the Senate House. The remainder of the buildings in the vast principal quadrangle, and the screen facing King's Parade, were completed, together with the Library and the Provost's Lodge that continues the Hall-range towards the river, by Wilkins in 1824. It is terrible to think that at this time Gibbs's Building nearly suffered a sea-change into Gothic—Mr. Wilkins's Gothic! The fine, if rather top-lofty, court by the river which it is now proposed to complete, was designed by G. F. Bodley and put up 1891–3; the buildings visible from King's Lane and accessible through Wilkins's

BRIDGES ON THE BACKS

range came into being at various times between 1871 (Gilbert Scott the First's building with the statue of Henry VIII which looks on to King's Parade) and 1908 (Sir Aston Webb's Gatehouse looking down Queens Lane).

The fountain in the middle of the principal Court represents Henry VI in the act of offering the charter of foundation and was set up in 1879. The sculptor was H. A. Armstead. The bridge (dating from 1820) and the fine ironwork gates beyond the bridge (1924) deserve inspection. The coat-of-arms on the left foot-passengers' gate is that in official use to-day, that on the right, with lilies in place of tudor roses, the original coat. The arms in the centre are those of Henry VI: the supporting beasts of forbidding mien, with cloven hooves and frond-like antlers, represent the Beaufort antelopes or, rather, yales.

A few hundred yards beyond these gates, in West Road, stands the modern home of King's College Choir School, which provides its Chapel with trebles. This has long been an integral part of the Foundation, and one of the most distinguished King's men owed to it his connexion with the College: that is Orlando Gibbons (1583–1625), one of the supreme masters during the great period of English music. He was a native of the town, his father having been one of the municipal "waits"; he died at Canterbury and lies in the Cathedral there.

No less magnificent than his architectural designs were King Henry VI's godly intentions for the personnel of his College when he gave it its full title of "The King's College of St. Mary and St. Nicholas at Cambridge". But here, too, the King overreached himself. The exclusiveness and privileged position

which he secured for his College by prohibiting recruiting for it from any school but one—however illustrious that one—and by exempting it from all local jurisdiction, tended to sterility, and for more than four centuries King's did not produce distinguished men in numbers comparable with the House's prestige and wealth. It might pride itself on baffling Vice-Chancellors and Proctors; as a "peculiar" of the Diocese of Lincoln it could remain loftily indifferent to the Bishop of Ely and his emissaries; it made the University give its members degrees by a mere *fiat*; but it remained "a cenotaph of learning", as someone unkindly called it, until in 1852 it waived its privilege of presenting students to the University for Degrees without their passing the Examinations demanded of others, and, in 1861, opened half its scholarships to non-Etonians. At the latter date it also began to admit pensioners, who had had access to the other Colleges for more than three hundred years. King's still retains a certain "superiority"—but in no offensive sense—by requiring its junior members to read for Honours Degrees only; otherwise it has fallen into line with the other Houses. The most famous names associated with King's after that of Orlando Gibbons are those of Giles Fletcher (? 1549–1611), the uncle of the Corpus dramatist, famous for an early and extremely valuable book on Russia, where he was Queen Elizabeth's envoy—*Of the Russe Common Wealth, or, Manner of Government by the Russe Emperor (commonly called the Emperour of Moskovia), with the Manners and Fashions of the People of that Country*, 1591; of Edmund Waller, the turn-coat poet and perfecter of the heroic couplet, and of the two

Walpoles. The portrait of Sir Robert Walpole, Prime Minister of Great Britain from 1715 to 1717, and from 1721 to 1742, rightly occupies the place of honour in the College Hall; a pastel by Rosalba of his third son, Horatio or Horace Walpole, the prince of letter-writers and gossips, as well as a loyal son of the House, hangs at the right-hand end of the dons' dais. Sir Robert Walpole almost died while an undergraduate in residence: and this fate actually befell one who should have made a great figure in the country's annals also, Lord Blandford, son and heir to the great Duke of Marlborough. He lies buried in the Chapel.

Like so many other Cambridge Houses—Pembroke, Queens', Jesus, Christ's, St. John's, Sidney Sussex—the oldest surviving College but one, Clare, owes its origin in great part to the patronage of a woman. Lovers of Miss Austen's novels will delight to know that the titular foundress of Clare was also known as Lady Elizabeth de Burgh. But, perhaps because she had two husbands in rapid succession after John de Burgh, she elected to avoid mistakes by keeping usually to her maiden name of Elizabeth de Clare. She was a grand-daughter of King Edward I, a cousin-german of Edward III and the grandmother of that Countess of Ulster who became the poet Chaucer's first patroness. This association may account for the ancient tradition that the two *alumni* of

> . . . a greet collegge,
> Men clepen [call] the Soler Halle at Cantebrigge—

of whose unclerkly goings-on at Trumpington Mill the spiteful Reeve gives so graphic an account in

The Canterbury Tales—should be put down as among the earliest Clare men known to fame. (Some scholars, however, it should in fairness be added, identify Soler Hall, which apparently means a College with bay-windows, and King's Hall, of which we shall have more to tell when we come to an account of Trinity College). In one of those early lying-matches, in which Professor Maitland descried the first beginnings of inter-Varsity contests, Chaucer was confidently claimed both for Oxford and for Cambridge. It seems highly unlikely, however, that he studied at either and almost impossible that he should have frequented both. If, however, some new and otherwise indefinite piece of evidence should warrant the addition of this illustrious name to the long roll of Cambridge poets, Clare might well claim him on *a priori* grounds.

In 1338, then, the Lady Clare came to the rescue of a new but languishing institution called University Hall, which the University of Cambridge itself had during the Chancellorship of Richard de Badew founded twelve years previously, and undertook financial responsibility for it. The statutes which she framed were permeated by a markedly liberal spirit; among other things they make a definite distinction between Fellows and Scholars, or their fourteenth-century equivalents, such as is not to be found in most College statutes before the time of the Tudors. The Lady Clare caused the name of the foundation now to be changed to Clare Hall, which remained its official title as late as 1856. In that year Clare Hall and St. Catharine's Hall changed their names—no other change was necessary—and took on the appellation of College, fearing lest the new

academic boarding-houses, which the Royal Commission of the day was desirous of fostering and of calling Halls, might prejudice their position in the eyes of the public. On this occasion, however, Clare's neighbour, Trinity Hall, unable for an obvious reason to make a change analogous with that of the other two surviving "Halls", made a determined stand, with the result that the designation of the contemplated institutions was altered to Hostels, as far as Cambridge was concerned. In this way Trinity Hall remained Trinity Hall—and long may it so continue.

Of the Clare buildings erected in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries not a vestige remains. They were so dilapidated and damaged by fire during the time of Charles I that the Master and Fellows decided completely to demolish them and start afresh on the same site, though a trifle nearer the river. The leading spirit in this heroic resolution—for which we have noticed a parallel during the same century at St. Catharine's—was the Reverend Barnabas Oley, Vicar of Great Gransden, Huntingdonshire, who proved a notable benefactor not merely to his own College in all sorts of ways, but to many other institutions with which he was connected and some with which he was not: he subscribed liberally, for instance, to the second instalment of woodwork in King's Chapel.

In 1638 work was begun on the present principal Court, and the range containing the entrance gateway opposite the Old Court of King's, as well as that to the south of it, were completed before the civil broils became acute in 1642. The latter of these two ranges contains, in the middle, a particularly good staircase,

well worth looking at. Its elaborateness is explained by the theory that the Master temporarily lived there, pending the completion of his new Lodge. When the Civil War broke out and began to affect life at Cambridge, the works came to a standstill; a great deal of the material lying about for the completion of the Court was confiscated for fortifying the remains of Cambridge Castle. Not till 1669 could the building be resumed, and not till 1707 was the last part of the quadrangle, the Master's Lodge (on the right-hand side of the farther archway, as you go towards the river) outwardly completed. The Court, that is to say, took sixty-five years to build, and its architecture is not, strictly speaking, absolutely uniform. But it is a masterpiece of architectural harmony, excelling in that respect the rather later principal Court of St. Catharine's, which, as we have seen, has a similar history.

In the discerning sight of Professor Hamilton Thompson, however, the discrepancies between the different portions of this Court loom more prominently, it would seem, than their agreement; and his luminously expressed opinion should be quoted:—

"Clare thus presents examples of three distinct periods in Renaissance work. The earliest portion is the eastern side of the court with the gateway, the beauty of which cannot be too highly praised. The style is the fantastic Italian Gothic of the period, mixed largely with classical forms; but the work is free from what Mr. Ruskin would call insincerity. It is useful to compare it with the chapel of Peterhouse, consecrated five years before this was begun. Its characteristics are those of all the cultured work of the early Stewart period, and have points in common

with a building like Ingestre Hall, near Stafford, which has unfortunately perished by fire. The south side is of the same date; the admirable proportions of this part of the court may be seen from the grounds of King's. On the western side is a building of the time of Charles II and James II. Its inner face harmonizes fairly well with the rest, but debased forms, such as the meaningless broken arch, appear. The river front is pure Palladian and the effect of the order of pilasters which runs through the two upper stories is very harsh. The northern face of the court is good, solid, ugly Queen Anne work, which has, of late years, been spoiled rather than improved."

The architects commissioned for this undertaking are unknown; very likely they were just two ordinary Cambridge builders, John Westley and Robert Grumbold. Whoever they were, they were stout conservatives, and the masons of 1707 were carrying out a design that, *minus* a few details, might well have been evolved in the reign of the Tudors.

On the other hand, we do know who designed the bridge, most beautiful perhaps of all that span the Cam. It was Thomas Grumball or Grumbold, who, on 18 January 1639, received 3s. for his plan of it. The exquisitely graceful iron gates on the further side of Thomas Grumball's bridge date from the conclusion of the great rebuilding of Clare, as the bridge from the inception. They were commissioned in 1714—those at the other end of the old Court presumably at the same time. The name of the craftsman lives only in Heaven.

The Chapel, lying between the principal court and street on the site of its fourteenth-century predecessor, was built by James Essex, according to

the designs of Sir James Burrough. The consecration in 1769, it is pleasing to know from a contemporary document, "was conducted with the greatest decency". It contains some dignified but not unduly austere woodwork at the two ends, but little else to commend it. The elaborate ceiling accords ill in colour and elaborateness with the plain wainscoting of the side-walls, and the nineteenth-century glass is incongruously vulgar without being the least bit comic. The altar-piece is by Cipriani. The octagonal Antechapel has a pleasing airiness and lightness, produced solely by the uncommon device of a lofty lantern.

The Hall is an excellent specimen, one of the best in Cambridge, of an eighteenth-century interior. The most valuable items in the Library are books from Ben Jonson's private collection.

For many years the site actually owned by the Master Fellows and Scholars of Clare was so small that further substantial addition to the College buildings remained virtually impossible. Finally, after an uncomfortable leasing arrangement which had continued since 1638, Clare obtained from King's by Act of Parliament in 1823 a large piece of ground on the far side of the river, in exchange for which it surrendered its possessions at the other end of its old site. These encroached so closely upon King's Chapel as, in the altruistic opinion of Clare, to be positively scandalous—especially when one of their Fellows took to haranguing those going to Chapel at King's from the window of his rooms. The Butt Close site thus obtained was laid out as gardens, until in 1923 the College began the erection beyond Queens Road of an extremely handsome new building

THE NEW CLARE BUILDING

of chambers, with all offices appertaining, after the bold plan of Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, the architect of Liverpool Cathedral, in which characteristics of traditional English domestic architecture and classical suggestions are daringly, but not unsuccessfully, mingled. The most striking feature at first sight is the lofty central arch, a war-memorial to the sons of Clare killed 1914–19. Such effectiveness as it owns is clearly inspired by the great arch in Gibbs's Building at King's. By taking up—with due precautions against vehicular traffic—a position in the middle of the road, you may make the comparison between the two buildings yourself.

Beyond the Memorial Building of Clare lies the old cricket-ground which that College shared with King's. The fungoid growth upon it was formerly the first Eastern Military Hospital put up in great haste during 1914, and now acts as a local and extremely offensive palliation of the house-shortage. Some day, optimists affirm, the lath-and-canvas wigwams will disappear and a magnificent new University Library, also designed by Sir Giles Scott, rise on their site. The plans of it may be seen on the main staircase of the existing University Library. Beyond the ground stands the one genuine tennis court in Cambridge. At one time many Colleges had one on their premises: Tennis Court Road, for instance, between Downing Street and Lensfield Road, commemorates Pembroke's *jeu de paume*.

Clare's most distinguished nurselings form a strangely assorted little group, headed, " because he's so great ", by Thomas Pelham-Holles (1693–1768), first Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and of Newcastle-under-Lyme, who was Prime Minister 1754–6 and

1757–62. Though privately uncorrupt, he knew well the corruptions of an age in which political bribery was more direct and taken for granted than in our own. They cost him a fortune. The manner in which the ramifications of bribery and jobbery spread to the smallest private or semi-private transactions has been admirably traced by Mr. D. A. Winstanley in his erudite work on *Cambridge in the Eighteenth Century*, which concerns itself almost exclusively with the twenty years (1748–68) when Newcastle was the zealous, the over-zealous Chancellor of the University.

Almost contemporarily at Clare with Newcastle resided the man who delighted in making him his flouting-stock—Lord Hervey (1696–1743), Lord Privy Seal under George II. Hervey got, however, more than he gave, since he attracted to himself the derision of Fielding and the malignity of Pope, whose most famous aspersion on him apostrophized

> . . . that King of silk,
> *Sporus*, that mere curd of Ass's milk.

To his beautiful wife, *née* Mary Lepell, Voltaire wrote the only extant English poem of his.

The two other illustrious names associated with Clare are those of Hugh Latimer (? 1485–1555), the reformer, who became a Fellow in 1515, and of Robert Greene (? 1560–92), the Elizabethan dramatist and pamphleteer. With Marlowe of Corpus, Nash of St. John's, and two Oxonians, Lyly and Lodge, Greene formed the coterie of " The University Wits ", which in the course of the 1580's gave new and abounding life both to English comedy and to English tragedy. Morally, perhaps, he is not the House's greatest

adornment. He migrated thither, however, from St. John's. It is curious, though, that the two finest valedictory utterances in the English language should have been uttered by two Clare men of such different characters and attainments. That of Latimer is well known, as he stood, old but undaunted, with a spark of his uncouth humour still in him, at the Oxford stake: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England as I trust shall never be put out". Greene's farewell to the world, as reported by Gabriel Harvey, deserves no smaller fame. To his young wife, whom he had robbed, deserted, and betrayed, he wrote from his lowly host's garret, where young in years, but old in iniquity, he lay dying: "Doll, I charge thee, by the love of our youth and my soule's rest, that thou wilte see this man paide; for if hee and his wife had not succoured me, I had died in the streetes. Robert Greene".

XII

THE COLLEGES: TRINITY HALL AND CAIUS

TRINITY HALL, commonly known as "The Hall", snuggles up so closely to the north side of Clare that visitors sometimes find it difficult to discover where one ends and the other begins. The frontier, as a matter of fact, is formed by that narrow little passage, with the old, old wall next to Clare Chapel, the doorway to which is protected near the skyline by spikes. Such adornments to College walls, varied by broken bottles and barbed wire, are to be found everywhere in collegiate Cambridge. They ensure the undergraduates' morality. But not only visitors in the pleasant or neutral senses of the word have been prone to lump Clare and Trinity Hall together: inquisitorial and official visitors too have attached little importance to that separating lane, and in the sixteenth century the Powers-that-were made a serious attempt to merge the two foundations. One of this undesirable class of visitors in 1549, the unhappy Ridley, whom we have just mentioned, represented to head-quarters the unwillingness of the two Halls to merge their identity. He reminded the Lord Protector that Alexander the Great had spared a city for Homer's sake and besought him to avert catastrophe from the College of Latimer, who "far

passes by that poete ". As Ridley was at the zenith of his influence, the amalgamation scheme came to nought; just as later attempts to combine St. Catharine's with King's and Emmanuel with Christ's were wrecked against the rocky conservatism of the *genius loci*.

As you proceed from Clare, past the little lane and past a modern but unused entry, you come to a small, rather forlorn little triangle of a shrubbery, which Dr. Jowett (1752–1813), tutor of the College and Regius Professor of Civil Law, laid out in the year that Louis XVI was beheaded. It was a little larger in its prime—but not much. A wit of the day—Porson, some aver—commemorated the event and its consequence in a set of verses, surviving in a number of versions. The following has the air of a "definitive text":—

> A little garden little Jowett made
> And fenced it with a little palisade;
> And when this garden made a little talk
> He changed it to a little gravel walk;
> If you would know the mind of little Jowett
> This little garden don't a little show it.

Poor little man! One does not like to think of his mind, which conceived the chimes of St. Mary's, likened to a cat-walk and a repository for battered tins.

Beyond Jowett's Garden comes what is now the main building of the College, through which you pass into the Principal Court. Formerly this Court was more completely closed, and one entered the College by one of two gates at the Clare side of the little Garden. When the last old buildings of this old Entrance Court (now Second Court) were pulled down

in 1873, the two gateways were removed to Garret Hostel Lane on the further side of the College site, where they may yet be seen a few yards short of the river in the old clunch wall on the left-hand side.

If you do what can always be recommended at Cambridge, namely, go behind the front which its stones present to the world; if (that is to say) you pass out of the Principal Court of Trinity Hall through the little passage in the north range leading to the Tutor's House, you will see how much older that Principal Court is than it looks. It was, in fact, completed by the year 1400, and parts of it may even antedate the foundation of the College. But it was all handsomely refaced in the eighteenth century, and Salvin, in rebuilding the street-range in 1852, reproduced the style of the rest so perfectly that, with a good deal of licence, one may look at it as the best specimen of an eighteenth-century quadrangle in Cambridge—as Corpus serves for the fourteenth, Queens' for the fifteenth, John's (Second Court) for the sixteenth, and Clare for the seventeenth. For the nineteenth century full-blown we have to choose between the complete monstrosity of the Fourth Court of John's and the incomplete gentlemanliness of Downing. What the twentieth century may body forth who, after a survey of Downing Street, will dare to predict?

On the left of the Principal Court stands the College Chapel, which, though enlarged a little since, also exhibits the taste of the eighteenth century in making of it "a neat and elegant small room". The Antechapel contains a notable brass, the effigy of Dr. Hewke, Master, who died in 1617. In the Hall, inserted in the middle panel above the dais, hangs the

portrait of the presiding genius of the Georgian innovations, Sir Nathanael Lloyd, Master. The ceiling, which he triumphantly flattened, has once more been elevated. Thus the whirligig of time doth, at Cambridge, bring its revenges.

On the far side of the Hall passage, to the right, stands the very beautiful Library building, early Elizabethan (? 1560), built of perhaps the loveliest brick in all Cambridge, with a stepped gable towards the river, which calls to mind Renaissance buildings in Holland. The Library itself is, according to the *Cambridge Pocket Diary* (the bosom friend by which you may know every Cambridge man past and present), open every week-day in Full Term between 12 and 1, but this statement, I have found, should be accepted with reserve. If you are lucky enough to get in, you will find its contents as interesting as its exterior. It is generally held to furnish the finest extant example, virtually intact, of a sixteenth-century library, though Peterhouse runs it close. The books themselves may not possess the value of those treasured up at Corpus or Trinity or John's, but the chief cases show them pretty well as they did when they were first put in them. Some of them are chained, according to the mediaeval practice, with the machinery of locking them and unlocking them still in working order. The Reading Room, through which the Library is entered, was formerly the Combination Room, with a very fine ornamental mantelpiece and, in the window-seats, some of the oldest mahogany in the country.

The Master's Lodge, opposite the Library, is really of the same date, though it underwent a complete outward transformation in 1892; a fragment of the

original work of the Lodge remains exposed in the stone gable just on your left as you enter the Fellows' Garden. The building beyond the Library, called Latham Building after the Master of the period, dates from 1892 also.

Trinity Hall was founded in 1350, during that remarkable short burst of College-founding which extends from 1338 to 1352, and during which Clare, Pembroke, Caius, and Corpus sprang up as well. Bishop Bateman, or William of Norwich as he was called after his see, who was concerned also in the early history of Caius and Corpus, was solely responsible for this foundation which, in his own words, he established " for the advantage, rule, and direction of the commonwealth ". As one of the most eminent diplomatists of his day, he believed that this end would be best attained by training men of affairs, rather than theologians; accordingly, he made especial provision for the study of the Canon (or ecclesiastical) Law and the Civil Law, that rather shadowy Roman Law which was held superior to the various national systems in operation, in the same sort of way as, in some mysterious manner utterly at variance with actuality, the Holy Roman Emperor was supposed to exercise suzerainty over national Kings even beyond the confines of Italy and the Germanies. Bateman decreed that of his twenty Fellows at least seventeen should devote themselves to these legal studies.

Although the study of Civil Law, still commemorated in the style of Oxford law degrees, steadily declined through the centuries, until in 1859 it was finally banished from English law courts, the provision made for it there continued to exercise a great and

enduring influence on the fortunes of Trinity Hall. The Civilian Fellows were, for instance, at no time obliged to take priest's orders, and the Hall remained a preponderantly lay body at a time when so very overwhelming a proportion of Cambridge dons were clergymen. It preserved thus a more intimate connexion with the outer world—not merely the outer world of country rectories, but the courts of law and the courts of princes.

A curious connexion between Trinity Hall and the holy places of the English Judicature subsisted in Doctors' Commons, the institution so familiar to readers of *David Copperfield* and to gentlemen contemplating the most expeditious means to matrimony. In 1567 Henry Harvey, Master of Trinity Hall, procured for his College a long lease of Mountjoy House, near St. Paul's Cathedral, in London, and the premises adjacent to Mountjoy House, and in them proceeded to lodge an informal Association of Canonists and Civilians actively employed or "exercent" in the metropolitan courts. Harvey wished Mountjoy House to be a kind of London colony from Trinity Hall, and his College to carry predominant weight in all the transactions of the Admiralty Court, the Court of Arches, the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and the Court of the Bishop of London; but the Hall remained too small and too remote to exercise very much active control over such important and powerful offspring. It continued to act officially as landlord and unofficially to exert a good deal of unavowed influence as the foremost seminary of those studies which were translated into practice and cash in Doctors' Commons until 1768, when the business connexion dropped.

To another and more material link with the outer world the very misleading milestones on the road to Cambridge from Ware, *via* Barkway and Trumpington, bear witness. The coat-of-arms of a crescent which they sport either alone or impaled with the arms of Dr. Mowse, are those of Trinity Hall, which received from the said Dr. Mowse certain endowments and in return undertook the duties of a highway authority for a given stretch of road.

In view of what has been said of Bateman's purpose in establishing the College and what ensued from it, it is not surprizing to find, proportionately to the size and wealth of the foundation, so many Hall men who have at one time or another loomed large in the public gaze. From Bateman himself to Stephen Gardiner (? 1483–1555), the mighty prelate who with rare adroitness contrived to make himself the adviser first of Henry VIII and then of Queen Mary, the great promoter of the former's divorce from the latter's mother as well as the champion of the latter's legitimacy, the co-operator at one time with Cranmer and at a later time with Cardinal Pole : from Gardiner to Henry Maine (1822–88), who, a migrant from Pembroke, also became Master, and to Leslie Stephen (1832–1904), the great former and focus of public opinion forty years ago—Trinity Hall has more than pulled its weight in the ship of State. Thanks to the zeal of William Warren early in the eighteenth, and of Mr. Malden at the end of the nineteenth century, we have an unusually full record of the actual chambers occupied by many of these celebrities. Thus, while Stephen Gardiner (on the not very frequent occasions when he resided) naturally occupied the old Master's Lodgings over the dais end

of the Hall, Leslie Stephen lived in the first-floor rooms on the left of Staircase B in the Principal Court, and Sir Henry Maine, while still a Fellow, in the chambers on the right of Staircase C on the same level.

Naturally we shall find in the annals of the Hall a high proportion of great lawyers, such as Cockburn (1802–80), the most dreaded cross-examiner of his day and the judge in the Tichborne case—here best remembered perhaps for the Caledonianism of introducing claret as port's competitor into the Combination Room—and Sir Herbert Jenner-Fust (1778–1852), Master of the College and Judge of the Court of Arches in the famous case (1847–50) concerning unconditional baptismal regeneration, Gorham (of Queens') *versus* the Bishop of Exeter. Jenner-Fust decided in favour of the Bishop, but the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council reversed the judgment, thereby, in the words of a wag, dismissing hell with costs and taking away from all devout Christians their last hope of eternal damnation. But there are others too : Thomas Bilney, the first of the Cambridge Reformers (? 1495–1531) ; Lord Howard of Effingham (1536–1624), under whose command the English fleet defeated the Armada ; the great Lord Chesterfield (1694–1773) ; Henry Fawcett, Gladstone's blind Postmaster-General (1833–84) ; Viscount Fitzwilliam of the Fitzwilliam Museum (1745–1816) ; Frederick Denison Maurice (1805–72) ; and, in the realm of letters, Robert Herrick (1591–1674), Gabriel Harvey (? 1546–1630), John Dennis (1657–1734), and Edward Bulwer—later Lord Lytton (1803–73). It is rather strange, however, that all and each of these last four commenced their academic career elsewhere and

migrated to the Hall. The cantankerous Harvey, as we have seen, came from Christ's *via* Pembroke; Herrick came from St. John's (which he found too expensive) and Dennis from Caius (which found him too uproarious); Lytton, after one term only, from Trinity College.

No account of Trinity Hall would be complete without a reference to its fame as a nursery of great oarsmen and great crews. As practitioners of the most orthodox style—so that the term "the Trinity Hall style" is often used indiscriminately for "the English style of rowing"—they were head of the river, though always a comparatively small College, fifteen times between 1862 and 1900, in which time they also won the Grand Challenge Cup at Henley three times.

Anyone leaving Trinity Hall by the present main gateway has immediately before his eyes a wall very old at its base, the only extant piece of the old surrounding wall of Gonville and Caius College, dating from the last quarter of the fifteenth century. If he then should turn to the left and resolutely keep his eyes turned to the right he will see a number of the Caius College buildings which are invisible or virtually invisible from within; first the College Hall built by A. Salvin in 1853; round the corner, in Trinity Lane, the Library; then the entrance to a Tutor's House, which was fashioned out of the older Hall of 1441. Proceeding down Trinity Lane our wanderer may now rejoice his eyes by turning them to the left and allowing them to gaze at the back of the buildings, which form part of the great Court of Trinity. Here stood in the later Middle Ages a *dépendance* of Caius,

or rather of Gonville, College in the shape of Physwick Hostel. This name seems to be referable rather to the surname of Fishwick than to Physic or Physics. Towards the end of its time, Caius, the second founder of the College, was Principal of Physwick Hostel.

The building that begins at the end of Trinity Lane, on the Caius side, and continues all along Trinity Street was put up 1868–70, and is the work of Alfred Waterhouse, the deviser of the Prudential Company's Insurance Offices. As a diversion from the general effect the gourmet of architecture may perhaps discreetly be recommended to study the sculptured heads of the College's great men who with decent unconcern gaze down upon the bicycle accidents of Trinity Street.

They are, in the order in which you approach them from Trinity Lane: C. F. Mackenzie (1825–62), Anglican bishop of Central Africa; William Hyde Wollaston (1766–1828), physician, physicist, physiologist, and chemist, whose results were so infallible that contemporaries called him " the Pope " ; Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), the philosopher and friend of Newton and Leibniz; Jeremy Collier (1650–1726), the divine who with his *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* hastened on the moral purification and the artistic decline of British drama in the eighteenth century; Robert Brady *circa.* 1627–1700), Master of the College and Physician-in-Ordinary to Charles II and James II; Jeremy Taylor (1613–67), a native of the town, Bishop of Down and Connor, author of *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*; Francis Glisson (1597–1677), an original F.R.S. and a physiologist, whose *Tractatus de Rachitide* was the second medical monograph pub-

lished in England and, the author being an Englishman, the glorious cause that proud (but ignorant) Germans call rickets, " die englische Krankheit "; John Cosin (1594–1672), the High Church Bishop of Durham, whom we have already met as Master of Peterhouse; William Harvey (1578–1657), the physiologist and discoverer of the circulation of the blood—a portrait of him, said to be by Rembrandt, hangs in the Master's Lodge; Jan Gruter (1560–1627), the Flemish scholar; Sir Thomas Gresham (? 1519–79), the financier and founder of the Royal Exchange in London; Dr. Caius, of whom shortly; at the corner, William Lynwode or Lyndwood (? 1375–1446), Lord Keeper to Henry VI, Bishop of Hereford and a great Canon lawyer. The celebrated Mr. Titus Oates (1649–1705) is not unnaturally omitted—particularly since he completed his education farther along the street, at St. John's. There is no monument either to the Reverend Mr. Dell, Master of the College, who committed the enormities of having Bunyan preach from his pulpit and telling Cambridge in a University sermon that it was composed of no more than " stews of antichrist and dens of thieves ". Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, too, has been neglected, and that is really strange: for he must have been thought a great adornment to his House at one time, whereas Dell and Oates do not seem ever to have won much liking and respect. While still at Cambridge the latter, it is said, tried to swindle a tailor out of the price for a gown he had acquired of him, " which he denied with horrid imprecations ".

The conclusion of this scrutiny will have brought us to the end of Senate House Passage, down which we perceive Trinity Hall and so convince ourselves

SENATE-HOUSE PASSAGE

that the main portion of Caius stands on an island site—the only College in the town with that distinction. Before entering the College we should look at the massive corner-tower, adorned with the effigies of Gonville (below) and (above) of Bateman and Caius. Here, it was planned, should be the chief entry into the College. But the archway there rings to no footstep. Undergraduate tradition accounts for this departure from design by the alleged heavy mortality among Caius porters, unable at such an exposed post to hold their own in repartee against cabmen on the neighbouring rank, and so dying from chagrin.

If then we wish to enter Caius, we must retrace our steps and go through the little gateway surmounted by the medallion of Bishop Cosin. It brings us into what is called Tree Court. As this affords no incentive to linger, we turn to the right and then to the left, and so get into Gonville Court. This irregular quadrangle has a history very similar to that of the First Court of Trinity Hall. The fabric round it is of great antiquity, but three ranges were refaced during the eighteenth century by the architect-Master, Burrough, and the fourth, that between Gonville Court and Tree Court, entirely rebuilt in 1870. But for two centuries it *was* the College. Though it is named after him, Edmund Gonville, Rector of Terrington, near King's Lynn, had nothing to do with it. The original "Hall of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin", which he founded in 1349, was situated in Free School Lane, where now the Master of Corpus has his garden. And it was his executor, Bishop Bateman, who, about four years later, removed the Master and four Scholars whom Gonville had provided

for to the proximity of his own foundation of Trinity Hall. Bateman, too, arranged a kind of alliance between the two young foundations over which he had assumed tutelage, and he endeavoured to further in Gonville's House also those legal studies which were his prime concern in his own. But here they never took very deep root.

The second and predominant element in the College's appellation derives from Dr. John Caius, sometime Professor at Padua, physician to Edward VI and Mary I, who became Master of his old College (then known as Gonville or Gunnell Hall) in 1559 and richly endowed it. His name originally was pronounced, and often spelled, Kees, and oral tradition has paid no attention to the Latinization of his name. Caius was, it would seem, a crabby little man and, though eminent in his profession, no innovator in it as Harvey was to be. In general, he disliked novelty of all kinds, lamenting the days of his youth when everything was so much better than afterwards and believing that he alone could be trusted to preserve a froward generation from a moral deluge. He rigidly kept all power in his own hands ; and, as a natural corollary, attracted no able men to his College during his lifetime and found himself usually at odds with his juniors. His influence, however, told. In religion he naturally held with the old ways, so that, whereas an orthodox bishop had sourly but justly reported of Gonville Hall in 1530 that " no clerk that hath come out lately of that College but savereth of the frying panne, tho he spak never so holely ", less than half a century later Gonville and Caius College suffered the indignity of seeing its Master's papers ransacked for heresy by

University officers, and was currently represented as a store-house of all " popishe trumpery ", " a seminary to poyson the Commonwealth with corrupted Gentlemen ". Whether Shakespeare had this peppery court-doctor in mind when he dubbed the body-curer of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* by his name, or whether the coincidence is accidental, still affords a nice ground of argument to critics and commentators.

Part of Caius's endowment took the form of new buildings (erected 1565–7) on either side of the Court named after him, which one enters from Gonville Court by the Chapel screens. They are built of stone taken from Ramsey Abbey, Hunts. On the side of this Court left open by his express direction—for he took great interest in the hygienic well-being of his House—stands the great glory of the College and one of the finest adornments of the University, the Gate of Honour. It was designed by Caius himself, executed by Theodore Haveus of Cleves, and dates from 1575. Historically it is a most interesting piece of early English Renaissance work. The tenacity of the mediaeval or Gothic tradition may be observed in the Tudor arch, and was even more in evidence when four obelisks, of which but a single stump remains, continued the corner pillars of the lower story. The weather-worn upper story of four fluted Ionic columns with niches between them, and the projecting cornice and pediment which they support, are exquisite. The hexagonal superstructure sits a little clumsily on the rest, and one cannot help feeling that perhaps eighteenth- and nineteenth-century romanticism did wisely in covering it up with the mass of creepers which contemporary prints show.

The Gate of Honour illustrates Dr. Caius's passion for ceremonial and symbolism—a trait so commonly seen in the resolutely conservative. This portal he intended for the Gate by which the men of his House were to leave it for the Schools and the Degree-giving ceremonies. They have preserved the ritual to this day. Similarly, before attaining to Honour, as dispensed in Disputation and Senate House, they passed through the Gate of Virtue, the noble archway leading from Tree Court to Caius Court. It is sometimes called the Gate of Wisdom from the inscription on the Caius Court side, and possibly Caius wished to intimate his view that Wisdom and Virtue were identical. And the freshmen entered the College through yet a third gate, on the site of the present squalid entry from Trinity Street. It was called the Gate of Humility. Vile cynics there are who aver that his successors have preserved Caius's sense of apt symbolism, since they have eliminated Humility from everyday concerns and given it an inconspicuous asylum in the Master's back-garden, where, forlorn and despised, you may still behold it—if you can!

Dr. Caius's effigy hangs in the Hall; his body lies buried in the Chapel that separates Gonville Court from Caius Court. Though mostly of the late fourteenth century, the Chapel is an uninteresting room, except for some half-dozen most decorative monuments. On the left as you enter comes first the War Memorial; then a tablet to the memory of William Webbe, a young Fellow-Commoner who died in College in 1613, the English portion beginning with a pun in the taste of the period—"A richer Webb . . ."; then the kneeling figure of Dr.

Stephen Perse (1548–1615), physician and founder of the celebrated Perse School in the town; last, in a recess (not in its original position), the very ornate, painted alabaster tomb of Caius; nearly opposite him the monument to Dr. Gostlin, who, it may be remembered, "left the Bull to Catharine"; then that to Dr. Legge (1535–1607), Caius's successor as Master of the College, a keen playgoer, and indifferent playwright in his day; and nearest the door a tablet to Dr. Thomas Gooch (1675–1754) Master of the College and—as the inscription testifies—an unashamed pluralist in wives no less than ecclesiastical preferments.

The beautiful soft chimes of the Chapel clock are worth waiting to hear. They date from the construction of their turret, 1870.

The College—since Dr. Caius's time always one of the larger Houses in Cambridge—has recently had to expand across the road, and in St. Michael's Court has built for itself, after Sir Aston Webb's plans, as handsome a building as the unpropitious site would permit.

No Cambridge College has ever endeavoured to confine its students to one branch of learning; but certain Colleges have, either permanently or for a while, excelled in some science or other, as Trinity Hall in Law, Trinity in Physics and the Higher Mathematics. Doctor Caius, in Fuller's words, "may seem to have bequeathed a *Medicinall Genius* unto this foundation", and his "*little Montpelier*" to this day preserves a glorious fame as a breeding-place of eminent physicians, surgeons, and physiologists.

XIII

THE COLLEGES: TRINITY

BOTH at Cambridge and Oxford the impulse which spent itself in the foundation and endowment of places of learning seems to have obeyed certain general laws in the physical or psychical realm which would account for its manifestation at certain defined epochs. In other words, we may differentiate between periods in which Colleges were brought into being and times of quiescence between them.

The earliest of the active periods begins with the final affiliation of Merton's foundation with Oxford—University College and Balliol College have even older fiscal histories, but those features which made them *Colleges*, as we understand the term, seem to post-date the settlement of Merton's scholars at Oxford; and, to confine ourselves to still flourishing corporations, from this primordial epoch derive at Cambridge (in the order of foundation) Peterhouse, Clare, Pembroke, Gonville and Caius, Trinity Hall and Corpus: their equivalents at Oxford, in addition to those already named, are Exeter, Oriel, and Queen's. After the foundation of Corpus in 1352 there followed at Cambridge a lull of close upon ninety years, during which Oxford witnessed the rise of perhaps its most

glorious House, William of Wykeham's foundation of New College in 1386; Lincoln and All Souls' also came into being during this time. *Per contra*, the second or Lancastrian period of College-stablishing at Cambridge, the period of King's, Queens', and St. Catharine's, falls into a barren stretch of time at Oxford in which only Magdalen College (1456) arose. After that follows the early Tudor period (1496–1555), in which Cambridge led the way with Jesus, Christ's, and John's, which antedate Brasenose, Corpus, and Christ Church just as a few years afterwards Magdalene and Trinity precede by a little the two Marian foundations at Oxford, Trinity and St. John's. After that again Cambridge has two Elizabethan Colleges in Emmanuel and Sidney Sussex, Oxford one in Jesus; Oxford two seventeenth-century Colleges (Wadham and Pembroke) where Cambridge has none; and each one an ambiguously eighteenth-century foundation—Worcester and Downing respectively.

In the third great period of College stablishment in Cambridge the pious donors did not start *ab ovo* as Marie de Valence and Gonville and many other early benefactors had done, but took over, put to different uses, and increased the resources of corporations already in existence. As the Lady Clare had re-vitalized University Hall, so the Lady Margaret turned God's House into Christ's and St. John's Hospital into St. John's College. Similar is the pre-history of Jesus, and, indeed, of all foundations between that of St. Catharine's at one end and that of Downing at the other.

Thus the mightiest of them, which we now come to along Trinity Street from Caius, Trinity College

grew up out of an amalgamation of two very ancient corporations, Michael House and King's Hall. Of Michael House, the older of the two and indeed (since it was founded in 1324) the oldest College in the University after Peterhouse, as good as nothing remains. The buildings, which stood at the south-west corner of Trinity Great Court (where you pass through to Bishop's Hostel and New Court) were all pulled down or overlaid, though possibly some remains of the ancient fabric survive in the present College Kitchen; moreover, when Trinity College came to be founded, the senior members of Michael House seem all to have been dispersed. The history of King's Hall, however, did not come to such an abrupt end. It dated from the time of Edward III, who in 1336 formed into a College of thirty-two Scholars with a Warden a less formally constituted congregation of students, apparently known as the "King's Childer", whom the Crown had maintained at Cambridge since the days of Edward II. When in 1546 Henry VIII gave his charter to Trinity College, he made the then Warden of King's Hall, Redman, its first Master, and placed thirty-one out of the thirty-two Fellows or Scholars of the old House on the new foundation. He and later patrons incorporated also some of the old fabric into the new architectural schemes: most conspicuously the Great Gate, completed as recently as 1535, and commemorating to this day the founder, not of Trinity College, but of King's Hall, with its statue and inscription "Edwardus Tertvs fvndator Avle Regis, MCCCXXXVII". Much earlier than the Great Gate is the King's Hostel (1418), the remainder evidently of a cloistered Court on the extreme north of the Trinity site. It is approached

through "King Edward's Gate" under the Clock Tower, which also forms a material link with King's Hall, for it was first built in 1427, but stood where the sundial now is. When the plans for the Great Court were nearing completion, it was pulled down and carefully put together again, facing in another direction and about 100 feet away from its old position. The best view of King's Hostel, by the way, is obtained from the Fellows' Garden or Bowling Green; but as this is the private pleasaunce of the Trinity Society, mere mortals must be content with the peep afforded through the iron gates next beyond King Edward's Gate.

By expedients such as the bodily removal of the bell tower and the destruction of lanes and tenements the Great Court came into existence, the largest quadrangle in the two Universities, as befits the largest and richest foundation to be found either in Cambridge or Oxford. It is in reality an irregular, five-sided figure, but, if the two north sides are flattened out, the distances between the four principal corners are approximately 255 feet, 320 feet, 290 feet, and 350 feet. (The Great Quadrangle of Christ Church, Oxford, is just about three-quarters of this size: 264 feet by 261.) Its completion was very gradual, but, except for the conspicuously Georgian building on the site of Michael House, finally achieved in 1605. The two building geniuses most concerned in the great work were Thomas Nevile (Master 1593–1615) and Ralph Symons, the fine architect with whose achievements we are here confronted for the first time.

The five parts of the Great Court that most insistently challenge attention are clearly the Great Gate,

the Chapel, the Master's Lodge, the Hall, and the Fountain.

The Great Gate has already received some notice as a relic of King's Hall. The statues on the inside, it may be added, represent King James I, his consort Anne of Denmark, and his heir Charles, who all visited the College together in 1615. The earliest observatory in Cambridge stood on top of the Great Gate 1739–97.

The Fountain, supplied by a private conduit belonging to the College, was put up in 1602, its ornament agreeing perfectly with that on the porch of the contemporary Lodge. Until fairly recently it served a practical purpose as well as the abiding decorative one—namely, that of providing all the College staircases with water. "Trinity Bedmakers at the Fountain"—what a subject for a future R.A. enamoured of the quaint simplicity of our Victorians!

A chronological account of the vicissitudes undergone by Trinity Chapel might serve as a text from which to develop the history of the established Church in England. Its provision, it is said, was the prime concern of Henry VIII, with whom the official Reformation of the English Church begins. The fabric started to rise from its foundation under the reign and care of Queen Mary, who naturally intended it for full Roman ritual, and was completed in 1567, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England were still in a singularly fluid state, having but one stable element in it, the determination finally to have done with the supremacy of the Pope.

After that the ever-fluctuating position of the Anglican Church between Catholicism and extreme

THE CLOCK TOWER, TRINITY

Protestantism is symbolized by the furniture, decoration, and arrangement of this Chapel. At first, it would seem, there is set up, Geneva-like in the middle, a Table for the Lord's Supper; the essentially non-Conformist Puritans beginning to make themselves obnoxious even so far as to rebel against the wearing of surplices, the Table is moved and set up, now an Altar, at the raised east end; then follows a reaction against Laudian superstition, and straightway Mr. Dowsing flattens the floor again, razes four Cherubim, and possibly has the Table shifted back to the middle—to be displaced and elevated once more at the glorious Restoration. The eighteenth century insists, amid doctrinal strife touching the Nature of Christ's Kingdom and the Miraculous Element in Religion, on outward decorum at least, and inserts the dark woodwork of stalls and wainscoting; the nineteenth century, harried between Chateaubriand and Carlyle, Newman and Kingsley, attempts a compromise between the moral earnestness of the Puritans on the one side and the gaudiness of Rome on the other, and adorns the windows with stained and symbolical glass; the twentieth century fills panel after panel with the names of its young Dead—and, for the most part, stays away.

The Antechapel of Trinity contains the finest modern examples of the statuary's craft in Cambridge. As you enter, your eye is immediately caught by one statue, and it is improbable that you will have attention for anything else before you have let it work its will upon your imagination. That is the effigy of Newton by Roubiliac; to say that the stone is instinct with strength and lucidity of mind and the compelling force of genius to claim attention implies,

for once, no exaggeration. Newton (1642–1727) came up to Trinity from Grantham Grammar School in 1661 and took his first degree in 1665. Many of the theories and discoveries which were to revolutionize Natural Philosophy he meditated and formulated while still an undergraduate and Bachelor of Arts. He was Fellow of his College from 1667 to his death, and M.P. for the University in the Parliaments of 1689 and 1701–2. Though he lived for preference in Cambridge all his life, he is not buried here, but in Westminster Abbey.

The other statues represent: Isaac Barrow (1630–77), a man of supreme distinction himself, who resigned his Professorship of Mathematics at the age of thirty-eight so that his brilliant pupil Newton might succeed to it: a migrant from Peterhouse, he had previously been Regius Professor of Greek and died Master of the College; the third of the triple pillars of modern Science, Bacon (1561–1626), always a loyal son of the House—this effigy is a copy of the monument at Gorhambury and apparently reveals the venal sage as suffering from an excess of heat, which the magnitude and density of his ruff might well produce; Macaulay and Tennyson, both rather obviously posing; William Whewell (1794–1866), the celebrated, self-important Master and benefactor to College and University, of whom it was said that "science was his *forte*, but omniscience his foible". Sir Francis Doyle averred:

If you through the regions of space should have travelled,
And of nebular films the remotest unravelled,
You'll find as you tread on the bounds of infinity,
That God's greatest work is the Master of Trinity.

Those commemorated by busts are the Greek scholars Richard Porson (1758–1808)—his hair untidy

as usual—and P. P. Dobree (1782–1815); Francis Hooper (*d.* 1763), Keeper of the Chetham Library, Manchester; John Wordsworth (1805–39), son of Christopher Wordsworth (who was Master of the College) and nephew of the poet; Richard Sheepshanks (1794–1855), astronomer; Daniel Lock, F.R.S. (*d.* 1754), carved by Roubiliac, whom he introduced to Trinity; and Thomas Jones (1756–1807), who appears to have had no relation to Fielding, and who with great impartiality left behind him for his only works a repudiation and encouragement of slaughter in his *Sermon on Duelling* and an *Address to the Volunteers of Montgomeryshire.* All these were Fellows of the College.

A plaque preserves the memory of James Spedding (1808–81), a contemporary of Tennyson's at Cambridge, the biographer of Bacon. In that capacity he endeavoured as much to rebut the charges formulated against his subject by their fellow-Trinitarian Macaulay as to disavow on his behalf all share in the dramatic writings published as Shakespeare's.

Turning from the Antechapel into the Chapel, visitors should halt beneath the organ for the view of the Chapel which they obtain from that point of vantage. There they may enjoy to the full the harmonious blend of russet and gold, hardly spoiled by the anæmic saints and edificatory gentlemen brandishing rolls, sceptres, telescopes, pikes, and what not in the windows. Less often obtainable, the view from the altar is perhaps finer: the gold of the organ-pipes somewhat relieves the sombre sobriety of Grinling Gibbons's stalls and of the wainscoting above them, and through the passage

in the screen you can see gleaming white Roubiliac's masterpiece :—

> Of Newton with his prism and silent face,
> The marble index of a mind for ever
> Voyaging through strange seas of Thought, alone.

Concerning the Master's Lodge a myth exists that it ranks as a Royal residence. This is a misapprehension, though plausibly derived from two undoubted facts. First, that the Mastership of Trinity is, uniquely, in the gift of the Crown, and that on his appointment, the new Master, kept waiting before the closed portals, has to submit to the Fellows' scrutiny his Royal Patent of appointment, whereupon he proceeds straight to the Lodge ; second, that the Judges or Commissioners of Assize always reside there when the South-Eastern Circuit brings them to Cambridge—a two-hundred-year-old custom which was converted into a legal right in 1866.

Ever since the Reformation Masters of Colleges and Professors have been allowed to marry, though Queen Elizabeth, after her manner, did all she could to keep their wives out of the way. But not until the reign of Queen Victoria was the rule of compulsory celibacy for all other dons relaxed. The number of famous men whose birth can be associated with any College in Cambridge, though now gradually increasing, is necessarily a small one. Among them, for the present, the primacy is held by Richard Cumberland (1732–1811), the sentimental playwright and novelist. His father, a Fellow Commoner, had married Joanna Bentley, the Master's daughter, and it was in her old home that she brought him into the world. In course of time he himself became a Fellow of the College.

About the dimensions of their Hall, Nevile and Symons took peculiar pains, spending as much as 10s. on procuring the measurements of similar structures in London. They finally agreed to take for their model the celebrated Hall of the Middle Temple, where Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* had just recently been produced. The Hall of Trinity conforms to it exactly, as far as dimensions go, with a length of 100 feet, a height of 60, and a width of 40. Next to the admirable proportions, the highly ornate woodwork calls for special admiration and scrutiny—as fine a specimen as one may see anywhere of the English mixture of " Gothic " and " Classical " which, with our distaste for abstract nomenclature, we call just " Jacobean ". The panelling of the side-walls is modern, replacing earlier work rotted beyond hope of recovery. The rest is original.

Over the dais hangs a very remarkable group of pictures. On the left: Byron, looking excessively Byronic, the work of Giffoi; then an admirable copy [1] of Antonio Moro's Mary I, which makes the beholder very vividly appreciate her appellation of " Bloody Mary "; Newton by Vanderbank, who hardly rose to the height of his subject; beneath the royal arms Henry VIII, a brilliant early copy after Holbein; under him Bacon, presented 17 October, 1908, by the scholar Aldis Wright, then Vice-Master; William Frederick, second Duke of Gloucester, who subsequently became Chancellor of the University—one of Reynolds's most charming child studies; and Watts's celebrated likeness of Tennyson.

There are other portraits in the Hall which call for remark either because of their fine quality, or their

[1] The original is at Madrid.

subject, or both. On the right-hand side: James Clerk-Maxwell (1831–79), the world-famed physicist, and Jebb (1841–1905), the Greek scholar; a fine portrait, not as well known as it deserves to be, of Thackeray, by W. Lockhart Bogle; and, very much up in the air, a portrait of Dryden, a copy in which apparently only the face and hands are complete. On the left-hand side: the violinist Joachim (1831–1907), who loved Cambridge as much as Cambridge loved him; William Lamb, Viscount Melbourne (1779–1848), Queen Victoria's first Prime Minister, who no doubt owed to Trinity that delight in the classics which sustained him while his wife was gadding about with Byron; a capital example of Joseph Highmore's work in the portrait of Isaac Hawkins Browne (1745–1818), the ethical essay-writer; Abraham Cowley (1618–67), the poet and essayist, and skied, just before the left-hand oriel-window, Richard Bentley (1662–1742).

Richard Bentley may be regarded as the fine flower fostered by the University Statutes of Queen Elizabeth, and affords a valuable object-lesson of the mischiefs which inevitably accrue when any public institution is forcibly deflected from its proper purpose. That a University should serve as a nursery of learning was an idea which only a few isolated individuals held between the early Renaissance and the end of the eighteenth century. Henry VIII, with his appeal for "learned" support in the divorce proceedings against Katherine of Aragon, had set the fashion of considering Universities primarily from the political point of view as breeding-places of intellectual prize-fighters. His daughter Elizabeth wished them to provide an adequate moral and spiritual police-force

with which to screen from attack the State as conceived after a fashion which with beautiful simplicity we nowadays designate as "Prussian". Such a determination, if realized, would stultify the idea of a University from the very outset; but a consideration of this sort would scarcely appeal to Elizabeth or to her adviser Burghley. What did concern them, however, was the possibility of the weapon they forged being turned against them, of a University placing its carefully standardized powder and shot at the disposal of some emulator of Wolsey or Fisher who would succeed where they had failed. Accordingly they devised an oligarchical and federal constitution for Cambridge and Oxford to supplant the old, essentially democratic system. Either University was to be little more than an aggregation of Colleges and the Head of each College a Tudor monarch in little. All executive power in the University and a legislative veto was vested in the Heads and the "Caput", a Council in which Heads predominated. The framers of the statutes of 1572 shrewdly judged that assemblies of tyrants would never combine for dangerous joint action.

All the same, inconveniences could not be altogether eliminated. Some day, clearly, a man might rise up who, appreciating to the full the cynical basis of this system, would apply a like cynicism to utilizing the system for his own private uses. The man did rise up and his name was Richard Bentley.

A considerable classical scholar and divine, Bentley was educated at St.John's and appointed to the Mastership of Trinity in 1700, at the age of thirty-eight. Almost immediately he showed his teeth, and commenced a feud with the rest of the Governing Body

which only terminated with his death. During this period he consistently robbed the Society to increase his own prosperity and prestige; he expelled Fellows for no other reason than that they were obnoxious to himself; in appointing to College offices he consulted no one and nothing save himself and his own predilections; lastly, by admitting to scholarship examinations only boys nominated by himself, he ultimately filled Fellowships also with his own tools which he could—and did—use exactly as the whim might take him. All of this was either flatly illegal or else, what the Lord Chief Justice of the day called it, "very indecent". When he carried this kind of proceeding into University matters, the Senate deprived him of his degrees. But so skilful was Bentley at playing off one mandarin against another, at taking advantage of a scheme of things primarily created for the benefit of mandarins, that for years he evaded judicial sentence, and, when sentence of expulsion was finally delivered against him, prevented its execution—so that he died, in 1742, peacefully in his bed, Master of Trinity College still.

Before leaving the Great Court we should cast a glance over the building to the south of the Hall, since it has been the subject of much controversy of late. It embraces the College's old Combination Rooms, and was put up in 1774 by James Essex, who contemplated a construction of the whole Court in the same style. *En revanche*, the governing body of Trinity College proposed a short while ago to do away with Essex's building and to complete the Great Court after the sixteenth-century manner. At the time of writing the opposition to such a scheme seems to have prevailed, and, out of keeping with the rest

though it is, it would seem a thousand pities to destroy intrinsically the handsomest building in the Court, which, apart from the three Gates, somewhat lacks dignity and distinction.

No such criticism can justly lie against the Court on the far side of the Hall. It was begun by the same combination as finished the Great Court, Symons and Nevile, and is named after the latter. Their work was completed by Christopher Wren, who extended the two sides they had put up by nearly half their original length, built the Library across the open end, and erected in front of the Hall the beautiful "Rostrum" to round off the whole. These additions were executed 1675–90. The indefatigable Essex further altered the appearance of the Court a hundred years later, mainly by removing some ornament and substituting a balustrade for Nevile's dormer windows in the side ranges.

The construction of the Library is most ingeniously contrived. Outwardly it is a building of two stories of almost equal height, the lower one with Doric, the upper with Ionic columns. But the inward arrangement does not correspond to this outward seeming. A layman in the art of architecture can do no better than quote Sir Christopher's own description :—

I haue given the appearance of arches, as the Order required, fair and lofty; but I haue layd the floor of the Library upon the impostes, which answar to the pillars in the cloister and the levells of the old floores, and haue filled the Arches with relieues of stone, of which I have seen the effect abroad in good building, and I assure you where porches are lowe with flat ceelings is infinitely more gracefull than lowe arches would be, and is much more open and pleasant, nor need the mason feare the performance because the Arch discharges the

weight, and I shall direct him in a firme manner of executing the designe. By this contrivance the windowes of the Library rise high and giue place for the deskes against the walls. . . . The disposition of the shelues both along the walls and breaking out from the walls must needes proue very convenient and gracefull, and the best way for the students will be to haue a little square table in each Celle with 2 chaires.

The figures on the balustrade, the work of Gabriel Cibber, represent the four Sciences of Mathematics, Physics, Law, and Divinity.

The collection housed in Trinity Library is the largest contained in any College Library in Cambridge, and selected portions of it are open to inspection by the general public daily from 3 to 4 (on the darkest days of mid-winter 2.30 to 3.30). The most interesting things there on view are: the woodcarving of Grinling Gibbons (the ornamentation on the cases) and of Cornelius and John Austin (the doors to some of the bays), all according to a scheme evolved by Wren himself; the statue of Byron by Thorwaldsen, designed for Westminster Abbey and refused by the Chapter for reasons rehearsed again in the centenary year; some miraculous busts by Roubiliac and some interesting manuscript in the show-cases at the statue end. Amongst these are some letters of Byron, one " the first he ever wrote ", in a large hand on ruled paper and already containing a significant reference to a young lady; a holograph dedicatory letter to his old College from Lord Bacon written in the first volume of his *Works*; several mediaeval manuscripts, not so interesting or valuable or beautiful as those on view in the University Library or at Corpus; a beautiful mezzotint by Prince Rupert,

who was at one time credited with the invention of that art; some Tennyson manuscript, including the original fair copy of *Locksley Hall*; the priceless copy of Milton's *Minor Poems*, mostly in the poet's own hand, dating as they do from before his blindness; and the original script of Thackeray's *Esmond*. The Library was extended in 1892, but the new part, which extends, cunningly concealed, behind the north range of Nevile's Court, is not accessible to the public.

From under the Library we may, in summer, step direct on to Garret Hostel Green, part of the Trinity "Backs", which contain tennis-courts and a fine avenue of limes; those on the left bank of the river were planted over two and a half centuries ago. The Bridge dates from 1765. Turning our back upon it we enter the College once more by the so-called New Court—its original denomination of King's Court (after George IV, who subscribed to the building fund) would be more appropriate, since it has now stood a hundred years. The architect was Wilkins. Like many ugly structures it is—so those qualified to judge declare—convenient and comfortable.

Passing out of New Court by the opposite side from that by which we entered, we have on our left the sides and backs of buildings in the Great Court, in the ugliness and beauty of their native brick respectively, and on our right a very handsome house in the seventeenth-century domestic style, flanked and backed since 1878 by further buildings. This is Bishop's Hostel, so named after one of its endowers, Dr. Hackett, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who touchingly declared of his old College that it "is more precious to mee, next to the Church of J. Xt., than

anie place upon Earth". The site is that of one of the old "Hostels", Garret or Gerrard's Hostel, the name of which survives in the Green which was exchanged against Parker's Piece and in the lane running down to the river by the side of Trinity Hall. The entrance from Trinity Lane into Trinity College is adorned by Nevile's Gate, a beautiful piece of work, obviously contemporaneous with the Fountain and the porch of the Master's Lodge and in some particulars reminiscent of the Caius Gate of Honour. It originally stood at the west end of Nevile's Court before Wren completed that Court, and was only moved to its present site, after two other temporary abiding-places, in 1876.

Like Caius, Trinity has spread across Trinity Street; and like Caius's, Trinity's annexe suggests an "institution" rather than a College. The three courtyards, collectively known as Whewell's Court, from their founder William Whewell, were erected 1860–8, after designs by Salvin. They are differentiated by the undergraduates as the Spittoon (by reason of its shape and grasslessness) nearest to Trinity Street, the Garden of Eden (from the fig-tree) in the middle, and the Billiard Table (from the six slop stones cutting into the green of the grass exactly like pockets into the baize). In the middle of the last named a handsome bronze statue has recently been set up.

Even when due allowance has been made for the size and wealth of Trinity College, the number of eminent men who have lived there as students and teachers is astonishing. Both Science and Art can look here as to one of their hopefullest cradles. Some of the most distinguished natural philosophers of the

past have already received mention in connexion with some material monument; beside them one must name at least one other, the late Lord Rayleigh. In other branches of learning most distinguished were Coke (1552–1634) the great Common Lawyer, Grote (1794–1871) the historian of Greece, and Whitgift (? 1530–1604), among the greater Archbishops of Canterbury. The literary men shine with no smaller lustre: in Donne (1573–1631), Byron (1788–1824) and Tennyson (1809–92) Trinity has produced the three Masters of three great ages of poetry, and the measure of its distinction is afforded by those which Trinity and Trinity alone could place in its second rank: George Herbert (1593–1633), who for a time was Public Orator in the University, Andrew Marvell (1621–78), Dryden (1631-1700), and Edward Fitzgerald (1809–83). To bear them company come two of the supreme masters of English prose, Macaulay and Thackeray (1811–63). Thackeray constantly harks back to the life which he, according to some, mis-spent at " St. Boniface's ". Tennyson, by the way, won the Chancellor's Medal of English Verse with a poem on Timbuctoo. Thackeray, an undergraduate at the same time, similarly made his earliest " hit " with a burlesque inspired by the same exotic theme and containing the following moving, perhaps prophetic lines :—

> The day shall come when Afric's self shall feel
> Stern Afric's wrath and writhe 'neath Afric's steel.
> I see her tribes the hill of Glory mount,
> And sell their sugars on their own account,
> While round her throne the prostrate nations come,
> Sue for her rice and barter for her rum.

XIV

THE COLLEGES: ST. JOHN'S

THE site adjoining Trinity's to the north has been associated with the name of St. John the Evangelist since quite an early date; for as early as 1135, before anything resembling a University had come into being along the marshy banks of the Granta, a burgess of the town founded there a small Hospital of Augustinian canons dedicated to that Saint and established for the relief of the poor and infirm of the neighbourhood. Into this foundation it was, as we have seen, that nearly a century and half later Balsham introduced the "studious scholars" which were later transplanted to the neighbourhood of St. Peter's Church on the road to Trumpington and became Peterhouse. But even after this segregation, the Hospital continued to occupy a somewhat anomalous position, half-academic, half-ministerial, until the eighth decade of the fifteenth century, when it received finally recognition as part and parcel of the University. Almost immediately, it is puzzling to note, a decline attacked that flourishing body, and in 1510 Pope Julius II was prevailed on to issue a Bull dissolving it.

A few years before this John Fisher, the indefatigable prelate whom we have already met over

the description of Queens', had drawn the attention both of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, and of her royal son, Henry VII, to the opportunity which the moribund body of St. John's Hospital afforded of revivification by methods which he had found so successful at Jesus and Christ's. In 1509 the Lady Margaret died, but, stubborn though the opposition which (it would seem) Wolsey's Oxonian jealousy raised up against them, her intentions were pressed to their realization, and in 1516 the College was opened. The Lady Margaret's executors had obtained the necessary charter of incorporation a few years earlier, and the College accordingly fixes its era at the year 1511.

It comprised at first merely some ramshackle buildings, which, as "The Labyrinth", Samuel Butler has immortalized in *The Way of All Flesh*, and the newly built First Court, of which now but three sides remain; and one of these three sides, that to the south, Essex in 1772 transmogrified into a Georgian-looking building by the usual device of facing it with ashlar and sashing the windows. The arrangement of the Court closely resembled that of Queens'—of which Fisher was Master at the time that the fortunes of St. John's Hospital were in debate—save that the Library (then immediately on the left of the entry) stood diametrically opposite to the Master's Lodging instead of contiguous with it. The Library was moved little more than a century later; the Chapel and most of the old Lodge were removed in 1863, to be replaced by two edifices that hardly bear even thinking about. The site of the old Chapel is marked by the tombs, formerly let into its floor, now strewing the green sward.

Of the new Chapel, by Sir Gilbert Scott, it is sometimes said in jest that the plans became confused with those of St. Pancras Station Hotel, for which the same architect was responsible. But it is sober fact that they were much modified while the work was already in progress. Like Scott's more successful building at Exeter College, Oxford, it was planned to be surmounted by a light *flèche* only at the west end; but a group of generous Johnians, desirous no doubt of outshining Exeter, clubbed together the money necessary for substituting the present square tower. Sir Gilbert consented, but would not modify the engineering of his structure, which was not designed for such a weight. So it is mostly held up and together by iron stays. The best view of it is obtained on a winter afternoon in Portugal Place, when there is sufficient mist and gloom to obscure almost everything save the mere silhouette.

The most striking features of the old First Court that still remain are the Entrance Gateway, perhaps not quite so ruthlessly imposing as the plain strength of Queens', but a trifle more graceful and more interesting. Its ornament proclaims the patronage of the Lady Margaret. In the centre we see the proud shield that John's boasts equally with Christ's, the royal arms of England and of France quarterly, surmounted by a crown and supported by two yales, beasts that in the zoology of heralds form a sub-species of the antelope, though in reality, the Master of Christ's has persuaded us to believe, they should rather be identified with the patient ox. Beneath the shield to the left we have the rose of the Tudors, to the right the portcullis of the Beauforts. The space left unadorned is dotted with Marguerites

—the foundress's flower. Above all this, with an eagle fawning at his feet, stands the statue of John the Evangelist, who is represented as a chubby Restoration prelate, a promoted Vicar of Bray, with whom the effigy is contemporaneous. The foundress herself occupies a like position over the passage-way that leads from the First to the Second Court.

On our way through this passage the Hall claims our attention. It is one of the finest and largest in Cambridge, exceeding in length that of Trinity by eight feet. Originally it extended to just past the first oriel-window, but the lengthening in 1862 was most skilfully executed. The old dais wainscoting was moved with the dais, so that the effect remains one of perfect harmony. It is adorned by some of the most interesting portraits in the University. The Lely portrait of Sarah, Duchess of Somerset, who in 1682 founded three Scholarships at the College, and the brilliant Reynolds of Dr. Noah Thomas, both over the high tables, rank among these great painters' very finest work. As happens so often, the effectiveness of the pictures bears no relation with the subjects' significance. Noah Thomas (1720–92) became Physician-in-Ordinary to George III, who duly knighted him.

Near them hang an immense portrait of the foundress and, beneath it, of her coadjutor, Fisher. Another striking picture is that of Wordsworth by Pickersgill, often reproduced. The original of the sonnet beginning

> Go, faithful Portrait! and where long hath knelt
> Margaret, the saintly Foundress, take thy place,—

which Wordsworth wrote to accompany this picture—is preserved in a show-case in the College Library. Wordsworth, born in 1770, came into residence at St. John's in 1787; as he went down early in 1791, he did not coincide at Cambridge at all with his fellow-revolutionary Coleridge, who resided at Jesus from later in 1791 to 1794. The physical and spiritual life of his time at Cambridge he set forth with due circumstance for the benefit of posterity in Book III of the *Prelude*, in which for instance he tells us that

> The Evangelist St. John my patron was:
> Three Gothic courts are his, and in the first
> Was my abiding-place, a nook obscure;
> Right underneath, the College kitchens made
> A humming sound, less tuneable than bees,
> But hardly less industrious; with shrill notes
> Of sharp command and scolding intermixed.

The "nook obscure" has now lost its separate identity and become merged into the Kitchens themselves. Later Wordsworth betrays a secret of the prison-house somewhat to our surprise, as he apostrophizes Milton in the following terms:—

> O temperate Bard!
> Be it confest that, for the first time, seated
> Within thy innocent lodge and oratory,
> One of a festive circle, I poured out
> Libations, to thy memory drank, till pride
> And gratitude grew dizzy in a brain
> Never excited by the fumes of wine
> Before that hour, or since. Then, forth I ran
> From the assembly; through a length of streets,
> Ran, ostrich-like, to reach our chapel door
> In not a desperate or opprobrious time,
> Albeit long after the importunate bell
> Had stopped.

Near Wordsworth hangs another very eminent W. W. of those days, William Wilberforce (1759–1833). The portrait is by Lawrence, like the more celebrated unfinished study in the National Portrait Gallery; and beyond him the poet and diplomatist Matthew Prior (1664–1721), who came up as a scholar on the new foundation of the Duchess of Somerset and obtained a Fellowship in 1688. On the opposite wall hangs the great Palmerston, who sat in Parliament for the University for twenty years. The two busts in the second oriel-window represent the astronomers J. F. W. Herschel (1792–1871) and Adams (1819–92). The latter discovered the planet Neptune. The College Library preserves his youthful vow to account for the irregularities in the orbit of Uranus, which led to the discovery.

From the Hall visitors may, if opportunity affords, pass through a new lobby to the Combination Room, once the "Master's Gallery", the finest apartment in Cambridge. The vast low room, which in the evening is lighted by candles only, has been shorn about thirty feet of its proper length. As the ceilings testify, the small Combination Room beyond originally formed part of the Gallery also, as did the landing before the Library Door (well worth examining for the glorious wood alone, though it, too, has lost some of its quondam splendour). The total length amounted to 148 feet.

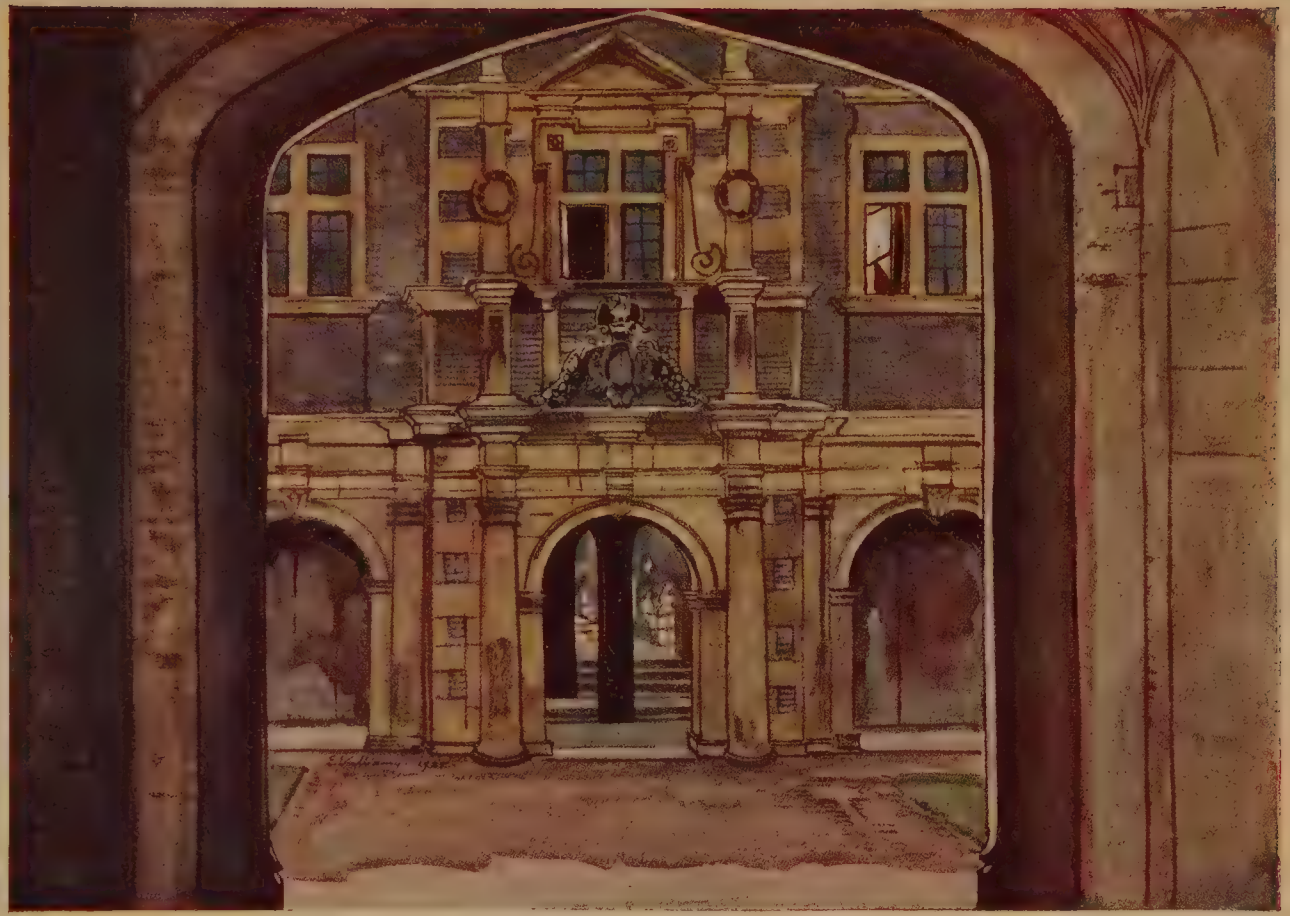
A medallion in one of the windows of the principal Combination Room commemorates the legend that Charles I's betrothal to Henrietta Maria in 1624 was formerly ratified there. The very ornate mantelpiece farthest from the entrance-door should also be noticed. It is not original to the room though,

being in fact somewhat older and has only recently been transferred from some College property in Bridge Street.

In the little Combination Room hang framed prints of celebrated Johnians not elsewhere commemorated. Notice Bishop Colenso (1814–83), who made himself so offensive by views on Old Testament arithmetic and chronology which everyone now accepts as self-evident, that his fellow-Johnian, Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand and Lichfield, went out of his way to vilify him at the consecration sermon of Sir Gilbert Scott's Chapel in 1869. "He went out *from* us," Selwyn proclaimed with true brotherly charity, "but he is not *of* us. One thing still remains: we can at any rate pray for him". A portrait of Ben Jonson hangs there too; he is claimed by the College, but, it must be confessed, with little show of probability.

The Second Court on to which the windows of the Combination Room give, a noble, austere piece of architecture, begun in 1598 and finished in 1607, replaced a much smaller quadrangle dating from the time of Henry VIII. It is Ralph Symons's crowning achievement. The Countess of Shrewsbury, beneath whose statue one passes in approaching the Third Court, provided most of the money for it, and it has an additional interest in furnishing one of the earliest examples of building by contract. Ralph Symons and Gilbert Wigg, whose tender of £8,665 was accepted, like most pioneers, suffered for their experiment, and the latter apparently languished in goal thereafter through inability to meet his creditors.

A beginning was made with the Third Court soon



THE ENTRANCE TO THE BRIDGE OF SIGHS

after the completion of the Second Court. The Library on the north side, as a convenient inscription visible from the river testifies, dates from 1624. The letters I.L.C.S. accompanying it stand for "Johannes Lincolniensis Custos Sigelli" and preserve the memory of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, who at other times filled the offices of Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor—the last cleric to fill this office which in its origin was exclusively ecclesiastical. He contributed over two-thirds of the cost of that building.

The Library well repays inspection; but this can only be done in the company of some member of the College or upon application to the Librarian; facilities granted, the hours are 9.30 (vacations 10.30) to 1.15 and (except on Saturdays) 2.30 to 4. It is perhaps more noteworthy as a whole than for its individual contents, though some of these are interesting and valuable. The upstairs room is an apartment as fine in its way as the Combination Room and worthily furnished. All the bookcases and their carving date from 1634. When, as elsewhere, it became necessary to increase the accommodation of the dwarf cases, this was skilfully done by superimposing these on newer work, which is masked by the stools in front of each. Every "class" still keeps its own catalogue, pasted up in a little cupboard at the end of the larger cases. On view in the show-cases, amongst many other things, are the service-book countersigned by the highest ecclesiastical authorities for the coronation of the Roman Catholic James II, an I O U of Charles II, and one of two vellum copies of Cromwell's Bible, perhaps the most valuable printed vellum book in the world.

The remainder of the Court dates from 1671–4, and its highly ornate style, half-classical, half-domestic "Gothic", is commonly assigned to Nicholas Hawkesmore, Wren's foremost pupil. That can hardly be, unless he drew up the plans at the early age of ten or less. Wren himself was possibly the architect of the singularly beautiful "Old Bridge", or "Kitchen Bridge", that lies a little to the south, or Trinity, side of the Third Court. It was completed in 1712.

In Wordsworth's time, as he has told us with accuracy most laudable in a poet, there were only three Courts. Unfortunately about thirty years after he went down more accommodation and a new bridge to it were deemed necessary. They were erected 1825–31. O Strawberry Hill, O *Castle of Otranto*, O *Waverley*, O *Kenilworth*, O Messrs. Rickman and Hutchinson, architects, what will you not have to answer for!

The latest addition to the College chambers took the form of the ill-named Chapel Court, an inoffensive red-brick structure of 1886, which is approached through a passage under the Combination Room.

Though deprived by the death of Lady Margaret of much of the endowment intended for it, St. John's immediately took rank as the first College in Cambridge, a proud position it only lost to the royal foundation of Trinity, to which it has run an honourable second ever since. The number of its distinguished sons is accordingly very great; some have already been mentioned; of the others only a few can receive notice. The mightiest of them is clearly William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Chancellor of the University 1559–98, to whom, during the first great

period in our national life, there is, in the weighty words of Mr. Bass Mullinger, "to be attributed, in no small measure, the larger share which Cambridge as compared with Oxford . . . unquestionably possessed in the national regard". To him, politician that he was, may be imputed also much of the blame for the sterilization of the English Universities for at least quarter of a millennium. After him, Sir John Cheke (1514–57), the Greek scholar; Cheke's pupil Ascham (1515–68), the author of the *Schole-master*; Sir Thomas Wyatt (? 1503–42), the first modern English poet; the unhappy Greene, whom Clare claims, and his friend and contemporary Thomas Nash (1567–1601)—both of these were sizars, paying for their education by personal attendance upon the Fellows, a duty by no means dishonourable, but not incumbent upon sizars to-day; and Samuel Butler (1835–1902), the author of *Erewhon*, some of whose pictures are exhibited in the Lower Library.

XV

THE COLLEGES: MAGDALENE AND JESUS

TO us to-day, still more to our fathers, who lived in the days when most dons were statutorily obliged to remain bachelors, Colleges seem such cloistral institutions that it is not easy to appreciate the fact that, in their origin, they were definitely and consciously anti-monastic. Members of Orders were strictly debarred from the foundations. The Orders accordingly made their own arrangements for profiting by the higher instruction which the University imparted—without, however, exposing their members to contaminating association with laymen. A rich abbey would organize a "cell" at Cambridge, and, naturally enough, the cells of abbeys of the same order would be built, for economy and other convenience, near to one another, if not actually contiguous, so that a little colony of cells with its chapel—an organism outwardly very like a College indeed—gradually grew up.. The completed process can best be seen in the old building of Worcester College, Oxford, which is nothing but a row of homogeneous Benedictine cells.

To Cambridge, too, the Benedictines decided to send their picked men for the study of theology and philosophy, and, by the year 1476, we find that

Crowland, Ely, Ramsey, and Walden have built or converted to their use a number of adjacent buildings and a chapel on the right-hand side of the road to Huntingdon, just beyond the bridge over the Granta. They were called collectively "The Monks' College of Buckingham, at Cambridge", after Henry, Duke of Buckingham, the same who figures in the cast of Shakespeare's *Richard III*. Edward, Duke of Buckingham, who appears in *Henry VIII*, was a benefactor of the place, like his father, and was perhaps educated at the College, since the Monks apparently boarded laymen from time to time.

When Duke Edward was executed in 1521 the revenues of Buckingham College were sequestered and, with the dissolution of the monasteries which followed hard upon, ruin must have befallen the "Monks' College". In 1542, however, it was re-founded by the statesman Thomas Audley, first Lord Audley of (Saffron) Walden, who does not appear to have many other good deeds to his credit. He bestowed upon it its present style of "the College of St. Mary Magdalene", which continues to be pronounced "Maudlin," like the wealthier Oxford foundation, though it is spelled differently. The Visitorship—that is to say, the supreme instance of appeal in intestine dissensions—and the gift of the Mastership have ever since been vested in Audley's heirs, the possessors of Audley End House, a magnificent Jacobean mansion near Saffron Walden, built by Thomas Earl of Suffolk and Chancellor of Cambridge University. The present visitor and patron is the seventh Lord Braybrooke; the family name is Neville, and two Nevilles held the Mastership of Magdalene within the last century,

—the latter for fifty years; while a third, Richard Griffin Neville, third Baron Braybrooke, is quite as intimately associated with Magdalene as first editor of Pepys's *Diary*. Another Neville who held the Mastership (1582–93) was that Thomas Neville or Nevile of Pembroke, whom at a later date we have met as the great building Master of Trinity.

Magdalene College and Jesus College are the two outlying Houses in the University, but the little distance from the rest at which they stand does not impress us as it did people in bygone times, who, when they settled in towns, must have been poor walkers. Anyhow, one ancient writer at least congratulates Magdalene College, the only one lying completely on the left bank of the river, on its aloofness, which successfully guards its younger inmates from the horrid temptations of the town, besides somehow making life there cheaper and "privater".

From St. John's College, Magdalene is approached through St. John's Street (the continuation of Trinity Street), Bridge Street, and the "Great Bridge," or, more circuitously and pleasurably, *via* John's "Backs"—leaving the "Wilderness" on the left—and John's back-gate, after which one bears round to the right, first along Queens Road, then through Northampton Street, and again to the right, along Magdalene Street. On this walk, too, the "School of Pythagoras" (described in Chapter III), and perhaps other attractions of "The Borough", may be explored.

Magdalene's little Front Court, of curious, intimate charm, dates almost entirely from the days of Buckingham College, from the fifteenth century; and the staircase doorways are still adorned with the arms of the monasteries which supported that

particular "cell". We know, however, that "the quadrant" was incomplete at the time of Elizabeth's famous visit to Cambridge in 1564. The ivy makes ocular confirmation of the conjecture impossible, but probably a small part of the southern range (towards the river) was built immediately after that date, and the gateway, which from the street *looks* so much the oldest part of the House, a few years later, in 1585 or thereabout. The faces visible from the street were renovated in 1873.

The little Chapel in the left-hand far corner is undistinguished, except for some pretty modern heraldic enamel-work on stalls or brass-plates, in commemoration of College worthies.

The Hall, dated 1519, "was new ceiled, paved, glazed, and wainscoted" in 1714, possibly under the direction of Vanbrugh, when the handsome and unusual double staircase up to the Combination Room was installed. The glass in it is most pleasing and quite recently inserted, as the arms of "baro Hawke", the great cricketer, prove. The pictures commemorate Charles Kingsley, the Victorian divine, novelist, and historian, who held the Regius Professorship of Modern History in the University from 1860 to 1869; the founder; Sir Christopher Wray (1524–92, Lord Chief Justice under Elizabeth and a benefactor to his College); and Samuel Pepys (painted by Lely).

Turning to the left, as we emerge from the Hall again, we have before us an exquisite building, one of the jewels of Cambridge, almost touching in the naive manner in which simplicity of first conception and exceedingly elaborate ornamentation are combined. Nothing very definite is known about its

history, but the inscription it bears must not mislead the reader of it into believing what is frequently repeated, that it was actually put up to give house-room to the "Bibliotheca Pepysiana" in 1724. In that year it must have stood complete for a matter of twenty-one years, and Pepys (1633–1703) might well have seen it in that state. He was always a loyal son of the House, though we have not much record of his undergraduate days beyond that he was "hauled" (as modern parlance has it) on 21 October 1653, for "having been scandalously over-served with drink ye night before". In after life, when he had won deserved fame as an administrator in a thousand, he often revisited Cambridge *en route* to his relatives at Impington and Brampton. In his Will he left his books to his nephew, John Jackson, another Magdalene man, and directed that on his death they should pass out of private hands, giving, with some reserves, the preference to Magdalene, "for the sake of my own and nephew's education therein", provided that "in the New Building there", as his nephew should select, "a faire Roome be provided therein on purpose for it, and wholely and solely appropriated thereto".

This "faire Roome"—and very fair it is—with its view on the waters of the Cam and the green grass, where formerly the Romans buried their dead, is situated on the first floor of the right-hand staircase. It is open to the public from 12 to 1 on every Tuesday and Thursday during Full Term,[1] but at no other time, except by appointment, for which only genuine bibliophiles should apply. The Librarian in attendance has such enthusiasm and knowledge to lavish

[1] See page 61*n*.

NEAR MAGDALENE BRIDGE

upon visitors that it seems supererogation to give much account of it here. No one should, however, go away without examining the exhibits in the show-cases, which include one volume of the celebrated *Diary* in Pepys's shorthand, and without noting the arrangement of the books, which, to the last tittle, is Pepys's own, regulated purely by the format of the volumes, and no other consideration. Pepys actually used little stands when a tiresome volume would somehow draw attention by its comparative shortness. The Library, it should be remembered, was a very large one according to the standards of the day—much larger, for instance, than the two biggest collections which eighteenth-century men of letters left, those of Fielding and Johnson—and, in the musical department, extremely valuable. On the value of the unique *Diary* who would dare to dilate ?

Magdalene has always been one of the smallest Colleges in Cambridge, and we have already mentioned its most distinguished sons. Besides them one should remember Nicholas Ferrar (1592–1637), later of Clare, the holy incumbent of Little Gidding, and Parnell (1846–91), the Irish politician, who, after a romantic love-affair, was " sent down " for assault.

No Cambridge College has a more varied history or more interesting buildings than Jesus College, which lies tucked away off Jesus Lane, the thoroughfare which begins opposite the Trinity annexe and ultimately becomes the Newmarket Road. To reach it from Magdalene, either cross the Great Bridge there and proceed along Bridge Street, pass the Round Church and the dungeon walls of Whewell's

Court, where you turn to the left; or make a longer, but very pleasant, *détour* in the opposite direction, along Chesterton Road and across either the Foot Bridge or Victoria Bridge. If you choose the former route you go past the site of two ancient hostelries of some historic renown. On the left, just past Messrs. King and Harper's garage, stood the Hoop Inn, the centre of the town's political life in those days of a venal oligarchy which "Henslow, Common Informer", did his utmost to terminate; almost opposite, where All Saints Passage debouches into Bridge Street, hung the sign of the "Dolphin," which is associated with Jesus' greatest son. While still a Fellow there Cranmer (1485–1556) married a daughter of the hostelry, and, on losing his Fellowship in consequence, lived there for some of the time in which he was acquiring his world-wide fame as a preacher.

In Jesus Lane you pass a very beautiful private house of the beginning of the eighteenth century, called Little Trinity, and farther on the seminary for Wesleyan divinity opened in 1925. In Malcolm Street, which comes in from the right, the authors of fiction (but not the tutors of Colleges) habitually accommodate the brilliant young aristocrats who jump seven feet at Prince's and then dash off to stroke the "Varsity eight". The street takes its name from Malcolm IV, King of Scotland, who was concerned in the inception of the House for which we are making.

The "pre-history" of Jesus resembles that we have already traced for St. John's and Magdalene. St. John's, as we saw, grew up on the site of a very ancient house of regulars; Magdalene took over a small collection of cells with communal offices, which survive intact. But Jesus goes farther even than

they in incorporating into its present structure a complete convent.

The origins of the Benedictine nunnery of St. Rhadegund are lost in antiquity; in 1133, however, the house is mentioned as "lately instituted" on its present site, then as now unmatched in Cambridge for its amenities: James I showed canny discernment when he stated that, "were he to choose, he would pray at King's, dine at Trinity, and sleep at Jesus"—his very rude remark about Magdalene should, in fitness, be ignored. The nunnery had grown to respectable size by the year 1300, though it never rivalled the great women's houses of Romsey and Barking. In the fifteenth century, however, it declined miserably as the result of those universal causes which Miss Eileen Power has traced with as much charm as learning in *Mediaeval English Nunneries*; and when the Bishop of Ely visited it in his official capacity in 1496 he found the extensive buildings ruinous and only two nuns to occupy them, one of them "of ill-fame"—"the neglect, improvidence, extravagance, and incontinence" of past and present inmates being due, in His Lordship's opinion, to "the proximity of the University of Cambridge", a most interesting sidelight on the spiritual mentors of the Ages of Faith.

The Bishop was John Alcock, a native of Beverley in Yorkshire, like his contemporary, friend, and fellow-founder of Colleges, John Fisher. In the same year that he visited and reported on the convent of St. Rhadegund, he obtained leave to convert it into a College, or rather (as we should define it) a Collegiate Grammar School, after the pattern of Jesus College at Rotherham (near Sheffield), which Archbishop

Rotherham, at one time intimately connected with Beverley also, as Provost of the Church, had meant to found as early as 1481. Not until 1567 did Jesus depart from the founder's original intention and fall into line with the other Colleges, by making no further provision for the education of school-boys.

When, after threading the so-called "chimney" from Jesus Lane, the visitor has passed under the benediction of Bishop Alcock and the fine gateway-tower of the College, with its unusual stepped battlements, he finds himself in front of a monastic arrangement of buildings utterly unlike anything else he can find in Cambridge, though perhaps the plan of Trinity Hall reveals some traces of it. He stands virtually in the Outer Court of a monastery, which formerly contained the Almonry (or guest department) and the farm buildings. Of these latter not a vestige now remains. The building through which he has passed, however, dates from conventual times, though it was extensively rebuilt when Bishop Alcock took charge, extended towards the town a few years later, and raised by a story between 1718 and 1720. The plain but cheerful and appropriate building opposite was not put up until 1638.

Turning diagonally to the right in this Outer Court, we approach the splendid entrance to the Inner or Cloister Court which sports the emblem of the Cock, derived punningly from the founder's name. To the left lay the Kitchen and Pantries (as they do to-day), on the right, most likely, the rooms of the Cellaress with the Guest Room or *Aula* (now Library) above; farther along, to the south that is to say, were the Prioress's apartments, now taken into the

Master's Lodge. The north side of the Court contained vaulted store-rooms (now Buttery) with the Refectory or Hall, as now, above; the east range the *Calefactory* (or heated Parlour) and Chapter House downstairs, with the Dormitory over them, while the whole south side of the Cloisters was bounded by the Nave of the Chapel, which, as we shall shortly see, Alcock truncated in order to provide more accommodation for his Master. The beautiful Early English arches, now protected by wire-netting, show the entrance to the Chapter House, which was probably sunk a little below the floor level of other rooms, so as to give height to so important a chamber without spoiling the symmetry of the first-floor level and so of the sky-line. The wooden rafters of the Cloisters deserve at least a glance.

For variety and interest and, I am tempted to add, for beauty too, the Chapel of Jesus has no peer in all the Colleges of Cambridge. Stately as the present Chapel may be, it is very much smaller than that of the original monastic Church. When the conversion from nunnery to school took place, Bishop Alcock's builders knocked off no less than four and a half bays from the Nave, and turned them into chambers for students and into rooms for the Master's Lodge, which now has absorbed them all. They did away with the side-aisles that lay on either side, not only of the Naves, but on half the Choir as well. (The present Organ Chamber, which is probably identical in extent with the north-east section thus eliminated, only dates from 1846.) The whole of the Southern Aisle and the eastern portion of the Northern Aisle (just mentioned) were removed altogether; the remaining western section of the Northern Aisle was thrown into

the Cloisters, which were thus enlarged and improved. To provide lighting for the new Chapel, after almost all the old lights had been destroyed, the architect provided the flat-arched "Tudor" windows in the side-walls and in the top story of the Central Tower, which was evidently heightened at the same time.

Much of the beauty of the building was thus masked and more taken away by later enthusiasts, so that at the beginning of the nineteenth century it had become a decidedly plain, commonplace "apartment" for "prayers". But from 1845, when the services of Salvin were engaged, until the present day restoration and beautification of the building have been in perpetual process, undertaken with a piety, skill, and taste for which there must be few parallels in this or any other country. To draw attention to individual beauties, which spring to the eye of their own accord, seems otiose; especially in view of the fact that there is in almost constant attention an "old man eloquent", who points out and expounds the details of the building with a deep learning derived from his Master and a dignity altogether in keeping with the stones about him. But for completeness' sake I must draw attention to the following: to the Norman (round-arched) work in the Northern Transept, which not only constitutes the oldest part of the Chapel, but also the only twelfth-century work of any kind in a Cambridge College; to the singularly beautiful Early English arches in the first story of the tower; and to the glass and other decorations of several pre-Raphaelites, which happily display all their talent with little of their mannerisms. The painting of the Nave

ceiling is by Morris, who also executed all the glass in the Nave and Transepts, after the designs of Burne-Jones and Ford Madox Brown. The latter is responsible only for the small figures in two windows: that in the southern wall of the Nave furthest from the Transept, and that in the eastern wall of the south Transept furthest from the Choir; Burne-Jones sketched all the rest. Unhappily the pre-Raphaelite brotherhood came too late to prevent Pugin and Hardman from doing their worst with the glass of the Choir. The two south windows here, however, were also designed by Burne-Jones, but executed, after Morris's death, by his firm.

To the west wall of the Nave is affixed a florid monument to Tobias Rustat (?1606–94), a great benefactor to Jesus College, of which his father had been a member. He himself was bred at neither University, being indeed, as the diarist Evelyn described him, "a very simple, ignorant, but honest and loyal creature." He occupied the exalted position of Page of the Back Stairs at Hampton Court. The Rustat scholars, endowed by him, remain among the very scanty band whom the reforming zeal of successive Royal Commissions still permits to maintain a public connexion with their original benefactor, instead of receiving support from an *omnium gatherum* "Scholarship Fund".

The remaining buildings of Jesus are quickly disposed of. Through the passage near the Chapter House arches you come into "Chapel Court", with its formal walks and espaliers. The building facing the old part was built in 1884. Beyond the Hall, as you emerge from the Cloister Court, stands the New Court, bounded on the south by the range of 1638

and the conventual buildings; on the east, by a small fragment from pre-College days (formerly the Privies) and an extension of 1822; on the north, by Waterhouse's least unsuccessful Cambridge building (1870).

The four sons on whom Jesus prides itself most are Cranmer and Malthus, Sterne and Coleridge. The two former were Fellows of the College: Cranmer needs no more words; the Rev. T. R. Malthus (1766–1834) was still a Fellow when, in 1798, he issued anonymously his *Essay on Population*, which ever since has hung like a meteor in the political heavens and, after the manner of its kind, portends to the timid the very gravest catastrophes.

Coleridge (1772–1834) must have known Malthus at any rate by sight, since he was a Fellow for a year or more during the younger man's term of residence. Profiting by the bounty of worthy Rustat, Coleridge came up as a Scholar in the Michaelmas Term of 1791 and left in the same term of 1794, thereby probably preventing rustication; for his career as a scholar had been unsatisfactory. Into it falls the incident of his enlistment in His Majesty's dragoons under the name of Silas Tomkins Cumberback. Moreover, grave apprehensions had been aroused in the breasts of many of his seniors by his eloquent panegyrics of Pantisocracy and by his partiality to the dangerous tenets of Unitarianism, at that time embraced by many of the acuter minds in Cambridge, particularly at Jesus. In this connexion a story is told (and avouched as true) that Coleridge by his loud applause attracted the attention of one of the Proctors during the proceedings which culminated

in the expulsion of the Unitarian W. Frend, Fellow of his own College; the Proctor determined to bring the culprit to book and, carefully noting the spot where he sat in the Gallery of the Senate House, proceeded thither. But Coleridge, on whom the officer's manœuvres were not lost, profited by the moment in which Gallery steps hid him from his sight to offer his seat to a student standing behind him. On him therefore the Proctor seized, accusing him of unseemly clamour caused by clapping of hands. "Alas, would that that were possible", exclaimed the undergraduate, who, standing up once more, showed himself an armless cripple. It seems, however, that not this escapade—in which he must have had many sympathizers—but *The Fall of Robespierre* drove the last nail in Coleridge's academic coffin. He wrote other poetry while at the University, mostly poor stuff. It may be noted that his lines *To a Young Ass, its Mother being tethered near* were inspired by a quadruped observed on Jesus Green, and that this Cult of the Ass, so admirably assessed at its true worth by Professor Babbitt, should have had as its first hierophant another Jesus man—Laurence Sterne.

Sterne (1713–68), whose great-grandfather, the Archbishop of York, had been Master and benefactor of Jesus, resided as a sizar there from 1733 to 1737, when he took his degree. It was at Jesus that he made the acquaintance of Hall-Stevenson (Eugenius in *Tristram Shandy*), a Fellow-Commoner with a propagandist enthusiasm for French *facetiæ*, the inspiration of which is writ large on most pages of *The Sentimental Journey* and of *Tristram Shandy*. His College inspired "Mr. Yorick" in

one of his happily infrequent sets of verses, when he sang :—

> At Cambridge many years ago,
> In Jesus was a walnut-tree ;
> The only thing it had to show,
> The only thing folk went to see.
>
> Being of such size and mass,
> And growing in so wise a College,
> I wonder how it came to pass
> It was not called the "Tree of Knowledge".

And it was, one may guess, from recollections of happy hours spent with Hall-Stevenson under that same walnut-tree (which used to adorn the Cloister Court), and of Jesus Lane, sleepy and hot and dusty of a May Term afternoon, that in later years Sterne was able to evoke the wonderful atmosphere of eternal afternoon that is the most permanent, as it was the most novel, product of his genius ; for Sutton-on-the-Forest and even Coxwold breathe too harsh an air.

Like Trinity Hall, Jesus is justly famous as a nursery of oarsmen, though it has won its many laurels not by the supreme development of the orthodox style, but by a heretical technique which appears equally successful. Jesus were Head of the River at one time for eleven years in succession (1875–85)—during which time they also won the Grand Challenge Cup at Henley (1879)—and they occupy that proud position to-day.

XVI

THE COLLEGES: SIDNEY SUSSEX, CHRIST'S, AND EMMANUEL

THE site of Sidney Sussex College occupies the angle between Jesus Lane and Sidney Street and was anciently in the possession of the Friars Minors or Grey Friars, whose building served in the sixteenth century as a quarry for Henry VIII's contractors at Trinity. At the back the site abuts on to King Street, where a very plain building of brick has just been put up.

Sidney Sussex College, at which, it will be remembered, the younger Bohun of *You Never Can Tell* received his education, is the youngest of the "old" Colleges in the University. Its foundation dates from 25 July 1594, when Elizabeth, in return for a bribe, by letters-patent authorized the executors of Frances Sidney to apply to that purpose £5,000 bequeathed by the said Frances in 1589. Frances Sidney was second wife to Thomas Redcliffe, Earl of Sussex, and aunt to Sir Philip Sidney. By 1598 Ralph Symons, the architect who had made his name with the new buildings at Emmanuel and who was to win even greater renown at St. John's and Trinity, had completed the northernmost court, now known as the Hall Court, to which the porch and buildings

immediately behind were added in 1821 and following years.

Its regularity contrasts with the Chapel Court adjacent, which boasts but two right angles and bears the architectural vestiges of five distinct centuries. One side, of course, the side common to the two courts, dates from 1598; the range opposite from 1628, when Sir Francis Clerk, a complete stranger to the House, endowed a number of scholarships and fellowships, and provided at the same time for the accommodation of their holders. The remaining range (1779–82) owes its structure in part to James Essex, who was commissioned to pull down the old Hall of the Grey Friars, till then used as the College Chapel, and to provide a substitute. For its present outward appearance, as for that of all the rest of the older buildings, Sir Jeffry Wyatville, the restorer of Windsor Castle, was responsible (1824–32). Wyatville, too, designed the gateway and the garden-front of the buildings then extant, with which the brick building between Hall Court and Jesus Lane (1870) was made to harmonize. The interior of the Chapel that Essex put up has only been completed within the last two years and furnishes very handsome examples of modern wood-carving, worthy of comparison with the best that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced. Though it savours somewhat of popery, the painted plastic work in the Chapel is particularly worth looking at: a nice plaster plaque over the side-altar; the wooden figure of St. Francis, with three birds, in a niche of the north wall; and that of St. George (wood again) over the entrance and in front of the happily hidden organ.

Similarly, the Hall, turned 1747–9 or thereabouts into a "fine Apartment", has recently been redecorated and effects a very striking combination of the tastes of that age and this: the plain wainscoting has been painted a rich blue, and the wall above it silver, while the elaborate but never heavy plaster-work of the ceiling is now resplendent with an unusual but successful blend of light blue, royal blue, gold, and cream.

On the right side of the Hall hangs a very striking portrait of John Hey, first Norrisian Professor of Divinity; on the left side of the dais in Samuel Cooper's famed effigy that "man among men of ours", as Sidney may justly claim, Oliver Cromwell, who at the age of seventeen (all but two days) was admitted Fellow-Commoner on 23 April 1616, a day otherwise renowned in our island story. Thomas Carlyle's flowery language may labour the point best:—

"While Oliver Cromwell was entering himself of Sidney Sussex College, William Shakespeare was taking his farewell of this world. Oliver's Father had, most likely, come with him; it is but some fifteen miles from Huntingdon; you can go and come in a day. Oliver's Father saw Oliver write in the Album at Cambridge: at Stratford, Shakespeare's Ann Hathaway was weeping over his bed. The first world-great thing that remains of English History, the Literature of Shakespeare, was ending; the second world-great thing that remains of English History, the armed Appeal of Puritanism to the Invisible God of Heaven against many very visible Devils, on Earth and Elsewhere, was, so to speak, beginning. They have their exits and

their entrances. And one People, in its time, plays many parts."

In accordance with posterity's generous and cheap custom of assigning the best rooms in College to those who subsequently achieve greatness, Cromwell is credited with inhabiting those first-floor rooms that slightly jut over Sidney Street from the northern side of Hall Court.

The other Sidney worthy who calls for remembrance is Thomas Fuller (1608–61), from whose writings I have quoted several times. Originally educated at Queens', he was both a divine and a professional author, his works containing many out-of-the-way facts and quaint, racy, out-of-the-way expressions, too. Of the Cambridge College with which he later associated himself he speaks in his *History of the University of Cambridge since the Conquest* in the following moving terms :—

"Now though it be onely the place of the *Parent*, and proper to him (as the *greater*) *to blesse* his *Childe*, yet it is the duty of the *Child* to *Pray*, for his *Parents*, in which relation my best desires are due to this *Foundation*, my *Mother* for my last eight years in this *University*. May her *lamp* never lack *light* for the *oyle*, *as oyle* for the *light* thereof. . . . The Lord blesse the labours of all the Students therein, that they may tend, and end at his glory, their own salvation, the profit and honour of the Church and Common-wealth."

Proceeding south-east (more or less) from Sidney Sussex College, we soon come upon Christ's—on the left-hand side of that multinominal street which here starts calling itself St. Andrew's Street, after the

Church of St. Andrew the Great next to the Post Office. This Church, by the way, was consecrated in 1843, but incorporates a few monuments from an older structure on the site, notably one to the memory of the circumnavigator Captain Cook and his family. Just before Christ's and the Post Office there runs into the main thoroughfare from the right the most crowded street in Cambridge. Its puzzling name "Petty Cury" derives from "La Petite Cokerie", as in the Middle Ages the cook-shops of the town congregated here.

During the first two centuries of its existence Christ's must have looked from the street very like what John's does to this day. For John's was built after the model of Christ's; but its brick proved more perdurable than the clunch employed in the sister-foundation, whose authorities found it necessary at various times between 1714 and 1770 to face with stone or plaster the street-front and the whole inside of the Front Court. But the curious may still see the old clunch-work either from the little Court abutting on to Christ's Lane, which contains Lecture Rooms and a Bath House, or, should circumstance permit, from the drive leading up to the Master's Lodge from Hobson Street.

At the time of the refacing the arched doorways and windows were, as usual, squared and sash-windows inserted.

The First Court was, at the time of building (1505–10), the most spacious in Cambridge and afforded additional accommodation by an ingenious and novel lengthening of the north-west and north-east sides beyond the corner-points. For upwards of a century it contained the whole of the earlier College endowed

by the munificence of the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby and mother to Henry VII. The procedure which she and her advisers, Fisher especially and possibly Erasmus[1] too, adopted here was similar to that described in the account of St. John's College. They did not begin *ab ovo*, but strengthened and put to other purposes an institution already in being, albeit decrepit. In this instance it was a small community calling itself by the high-sounding style of God's House on which the Lady Margaret's bounty descended.

God's House had existed for sixty-six years when in 1505 it was refounded as Christ's College. In 1439 William Bingham, a London clergyman, scandalized by the diminution in the number of schoolmasters up and down England, had in order to remedy this deficiency obtained leave to found a new College in Cambridge, or rather what we to-day would call a Schoolmasters' Training School. Its inmates were to study for the Degree of Master of Grammar, the inception ceremonies to which have been detailed above.

God's House, as has also been said already, was first established in Milne Street, where the west end of King's Chapel now stands, and therefore, when the royal Saint's designs in that quarter matured, had to move (1446) to a site just outside the Barnwell Gate of the town, a position which enabled it gradually to acquire (like Jesus, Sidney, and Emmanuel) a site of enormous area compared with that which the Colleges in the town proper occupy. Henry VI followed with interest the career of the community which he had uprooted, and

[1] Credited with some humanistic provisions in the Statutes.

probably meant to place it on a sound financial footing. But it was left to his second-cousin, " heir ", as she gracefully phrased it, " to all King Henry's godly intentions ", to achieve this and merge God's House, its site, history, and personnel into Christ's College. All that remains of the older, poverty-stricken foundation is some of the glass transferred from its Chapel to the present College Chapel and the claim of the House to take rank as a " royal and religious foundation ", like King's and Trinity —and John's, than which it has a stronger case.

The Chapel and Antechapel in the far left-hand side of the First Court, as you enter, have some very fine, sombre wainscoting by John Austin, put in in 1702 and 1703, and an interesting, if quite modern, stained-glass window over the communion-table. It is copied from a print of Loggan's and shows the College as it looked in 1688 or thereabouts. To the left of this window stands a very florid tomb carved in the style of the *secento* by Joseph Catterns (1684) for the remains of Sir John Finch and Sir Thomas Baines, friends to their College and one another.

But the most noteworthy features of the College, in the material realm at least, are the Fellows' Building in the Second Court and the Fellows' Garden behind it. The former dates from 1642, the year in which our Civil War definitely broke out, and Royalist and Parliamentarian partisans, it is interesting and instructive to note, contributed towards the expenses of the building. It was long venerated as the design of Inigo Jones, but that belief is now discredited. None the less, it remains one of the finest individual structures in Cambridge and marks an interesting

advance in taste and the "classicizing" of an essentially mediaeval design beyond, for example, the Chapel of Peterhouse and the design of Clare. It served most probably as the model for Gibbs at King's, and the unknown but conservative master who planned the home of Pepys's Library at Magdalene.

The Garden—open to the public on week-days from 2 to 4—is thought by some competent judges the most beautiful in either University. Its chief glory is the ancient mulberry-tree on the further lawn, probably planted in 1609 by a gardener with the romantic name of Troilus Atkinson, and not, as legend-loving posterity would have it, by Milton, who was born that year. Modern undergraduates, even when they are given to verse, do not go about furtively planting shrubs; modern Garden Stewards would not encourage such activities, if they came to their notice, and there is little ground for supposing that humanity has changed much in this respect during the last three centuries. So Milton pretty certainly did *not* put in this tree.

The oriel-window of the Hall which looks on to the Front Court commemorates the distinguished men educated at the House. I will name them, beginning at the top left-hand corner. Francis Quarles (1592–1644) was a fantastic minor poet of the age of Crashaw and Carew. Milton (1609–74) probably resided fairly continuously from 1625 to 1632, during which time he wrote the *Ode on the Nativity*, the two poems on Hobson the carrier, the famous sonnet on Shakespeare and *At a Solemn Music*. Tradition, on no reliable grounds, assigns to him rooms on the left of the first floor of Staircase

K, where presumably Wordsworth got so sadly drunk. Tradition also says that he was unpopular with the authorities, and that his tutor flogged him in the College Hall. Flogging, introduced apparently into Cambridge together with royal favour, certainly continued sporadically until the time of the Restoration; but there is no record of Milton suffering such a punishment or deserving it. John Cleveland (1613–58), the third Christ's poet, also represented Cambridge Town in Parliament. Henry More (1614–87) was recognized as one of the leaders of the Cambridge Platonists, whose influence on the thought of their day was very great, and who are especially associated with Christ's and Emmanuel's; he is buried in the College Chapel. So is his fellow-Platonist, Ralph Cudworth (1617–88), who, graduating from Emmanuel, was Master first of Clare and then of Christ's; his writings are held to be the most learned, able, and "modern" of the whole school. William Paley (1743–1805) too long enjoyed an undeserved reputation as the author of *Evidences of Christianity*, which was a set-book for public examinations at Cambridge for close on a century. Charles Darwin (1809–82), the natural philosopher, when in College, "kept" (*i.e.* lived) on the first floor, right-hand side, of Staircase G in the Front Court. John Leland (died 1552) heads the roll of English antiquaries. Edmund Grindal (died 1583), a migrant from Pembroke, had the not very common distinction of filling the archi-episcopal sees successively of York and of Canterbury. Sir Walter Mildmay (died 1589) will occupy our attention a little further on when we come to Emmanuel, which he founded. John Still, who died Bishop of Bath and Wells in

1608, after leaving Christ's became first Master of St. John's and then Master of Trinity. Of William Perkins (1558–1602), a reformed reprobate like Paley, Fuller says that it was awe-inspiring to hear him utter the word "damn" from the pulpit. William Lee (*fl.* 1600) invented the first stocking-loom (which he is seen clutching), goaded to it, according to legend, by his lady-love's clicking needles when he came a-courting. Sir John Harrington (of King's) was here included in error. The first five persons in the bottom row speak, more or less, for themselves. Edward VI is included for endowing a fellowship and scholarship. The last two are those whose tomb is reared in the Chapel. Sir John Finch (1626–82), an importation from Oxford, achieved distinction alike as a physician and diplomatist; he was one of the few Englishmen who have risen to the rank of Syndic of Padua University, in the quadrangle of which his bust holds a place of honour. Sir Thomas Baines (1622–80), his friend and companion, showed equal versatility. He accompanied Finch on his embassy to the Porte, and was M.D. of Cambridge and Padua, and Professor of Music at Gresham College. The most notable figure omitted from the window, where he might well replace Harrington, is Charles Stuart Calverley (1831–84), the Horatian poet, who was a Fellow.

The present Hall virtually dates from no farther than 1875; but in the complete renewal that then took place much of the old walls and wainscoting and all the old roof were preserved. One should note the two windows through which the occupant of the Master's Lodge could see what was happening in Hall. The celebrated farce of *Gammer Gurton's*

Needle, one of the earliest of English comedies, was first acted in the old Hall, possibly in 1563.

The College Library, a big, handsome room in the street range, may be inspected by visitors any weekday if they are accompanied by a member of the College. It contains interesting and valuable Miltoniana and a big collection of Oriental books and MSS. bequeathed by W. Robertson Smith (1846–94), who held a Fellowship of Christ's after his expulsion from Aberdeen as a heretic.

The building at the side of the Second Court was put up in 1823, that in the Third Court in 1888–9 (extended, as the inscription denotes, in 1905 on the College's quatercentenary).

In two of the most honourable intellectual movements of the seventeenth century, the Puritan "Appeal" eulogized by Carlyle and the Latitudinarian combination of philosophy with religion, a share as distinguished as that of its parent-College, Christ's, is taken by Emmanuel, whose buildings stand a little farther down the same street. Sir Walter Mildmay, who founded it in 1584, was, as we have seen, a Christ's man—he was also a statesman who preserved the favour of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, and crowned his career with the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. He did not, however, consider Christ's sufficiently strong, even with the endowments he might have to bestow on it, to fight the battle on which he had set his heart. So he decided on a new and independent foundation, "the house of pure Immanuel" as a ballad of the period has it, exclusively designed for breeding Preachers of the Word, as the

Calvinistic wing of the Church of England understood the term. Queen Elizabeth already scented schism in Mildmay's foundation, and the measure of his success may be gauged by the fact that here and at Sidney Sussex alone did Mr. Dowsing find nothing to be "amended" or "done", as he delightfully puts it. Moreover, when the ejection of Royalists began after 1642, Emmanuel supplied no less than seven Colleges besides itself with new Heads—such as Cudworth, who went to Clare. It may be noted that at this time Emmanuel had 310 residents on its books—nearly as many as to-day and then about one-third of the whole University.

The connexion between Christ's and Emmanuel has always been fairly intimate. The first Master of Emmanuel, Laurence Chaderton, and many of the earliest Fellows were recruited from Christ's; and within living memory an amalgamation of the two was prevented only by the casting-vote of the then Master of Christ's with the admonition: "Gentlemen, you are destroying two ancient foundations". Intimate too have been the relations between Emmanuel and the offspring which it brought forth in course of time—Harvard College, the parent, mentor, and cynosure of all Colleges and Universities in the English-speaking West. John Harvard, whose £779 17s. 2d. *plus* Library proved the nucleus round which inchoate plans for a New England College massed, had only just proceeded M.A. from Emmanuel when, in 1638, consumption laid him low in the New World. Out of Emmanuel too, it may here be added, passed John Cotton and Thomas Hooker, both Fellows, whom Cotton Mather designates the Melanchthon and Luther of New England.

Emmanuel College has, therefore, always been as favoured a shrine with American pilgrims as Southwark Cathedral, and here too their piety has taken concrete shape, by a memorial in the Chapel.

For the site of his College Sir Walter Mildmay pitched on the Priory of the Dominicans, or Black Friars, or Friars Preachers, which had been dissolved in 1538 [1] after a continuous history of three hundred years there, and which had given its name to the street which passed its walls—Preachers Street, now St. Andrew's Street. Some of the old conventual buildings, so altered and restored as to be virtually new, the indispensable Ralph Symons turned (1584–8) into Kitchen, Buttery, Hall, Parlour, and Lodge, which purposes (except the last) the same rooms still serve. Symons built too a completely new building opposite the Kitchen in the Second Court, the " Old Chapel " with its unusual dormer-windows, now used as a Library. This seems to have been Symons's first major piece of work, and it betrays the founder's determination to break with the past. The plan (followed in many particulars at Sidney Sussex during the next decade) departed widely from the traditional arrangement which we traced in its first completeness at Queens'. Most remarkable of all, the Chapel, as if in defiance, lay almost due north and south.

The present Chapel, situated end-on in the Principal Court, and connected by a gallery with either side, directly after the model of Peterhouse, then newly completed, is the work (1668–77) of Christopher Wren, who repeated many of the details of his own plan for Pembroke Chapel. It contains, besides

[1] The last prior died Dean of Exeter under Elizabeth in 1570.

the memorial to John Harvard put up by Harvard College, some symbolical glass as positively satisfactory to the æsthetic sense as it is to the understanding—a rare feat! The handsome classical building on the south side of the first Court was also part of Symons's original work, but owes its present appearance to successive reconstructions in 1722 and 1811. The stately, if rather sombre, range facing the street (1775) is perhaps the finest work we have of James Essex, who had proved his merit to the governing body in 1764 by his redecoration of the Hall which has substantially been allowed to stand.

After Trinity, Emmanuel has more accommodation for its members than any other Cambridge College. Indeed it is exceeded in actual numbers of residents only by Trinity, St. John's, and Caius, with Pembroke and Christ's running neck and neck with it for fourth place. Behind the First Court it has to the right the fascinating "Brick Building" of 1634, which backs on to the singularly beautiful, if small, Fellows' Garden; at right angles to the "Brick Building" stands the finest lecture-room in Cambridge (superimposed on two smaller teaching-rooms), and, past the lawns and the trees, the pond and its swans, lies the College Hostel (1885–94). There students are received *en pension*, paying each term a lump sum in advance for tuition, board, and lodging, which saves them some money and also saves them the useful experience gained by the freer disposal of money involved in the usual College system of piece-meal payments. Such remaining buildings in the Second or Side Court as have not yet been particularized date from 1825–8; and in 1914

additional chambers were provided by the erection of a new Court on the north side of Emmanuel Street, the finest contribution to College architecture in Cambridge since the time of Essex. The new Court is connected with the rest of the College by a subway, which the undergraduates very aptly denominate as " The Tube Station ".

Some of Emmanuel's worthies have already been mentioned. Portraits in the Hall remind us of two more: Dr. Farmer and Samuel Parr (1747–1825), whom we also met in the Fitzwilliam Museum. Dr. Richard Farmer (1735–97) was Master of Emmanuel and a friend of Dr. Johnson. An extremely learned but indolent man, who made Emmanuel Parlour the rallying-ground of good talkers in Cambridge, he wrote little beyond his brief *chef-d'œuvre*, the *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare*, which proved the earliest important counter-check to notions about Shakespeare like Voltaire's when he referred to him as an " inspired savage ". At the same time it gave a decided impetus to the equally deplorable " bardolatry " of the Romantics and Victorians, from which we are only just beginning to recover. After Chaderton, Farmer, Cudworth, Parr, Cotton, Hooker, and Harvard one should enumerate the great Platonists of Emmanuel: Benjamin Whichcote (1609–83), Nathanael Culverwell (died *circa* 1651) and John Smith (1618–52). William Sancroft (1617–93), the nonjuring and superseded Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Law (1686–1761), author of *A Serious Call*, deserve remembrance too, as well as two widely differing contemporaries: Samuel Romilly (1757–1818), the Whig law-reformer, and George Dyer (1755–1841), beloved of Hazlitt and

Lamb; the former described him as one of "God Almighty's gentlemen", the latter mentions him repeatedly in his Letters and, as G. D., in the *Essays of Elia*, notably the paper called *Oxford in the Vacation*, which celebrates the holiday of 1820 which the Lambs spent in *Cambridge*.

XVII

THE COLLEGES: FOUNDATIONS SINCE 1600

DOWNING COLLEGE, delightfully situated about quarter of a mile beyond Emmanuel, but on the other side of the road, is by much the youngest College in Cambridge, where there are no seventeenth- or eighteenth-century foundations to compare *pari passu* with Pembroke or Worcester at Oxford. Sir George Downing's Will, directing his executors in certain very improbable contingencies to build a College, was, to be sure, made in 1717. But not until 1800 was it possible for the Crown to grant the Charter which made Downing College part and parcel of the University of Cambridge, not until 1807 was the foundation-stone laid, and not until 1821 was the building sufficiently advanced to allow of the admission of undergraduates. These buildings, by William Wilkins, were extravagantly admired in their day: Maria Edgeworth was permitted to see little else during her sojourn in Cambridge, and to her inability to find them as beautiful as King's College Chapel she confesses as if to a crime. They were at her time virtually what one sees to-day, except for the building on the north-east of the Court, which was completed in 1873. The mixture of extreme

classical severity with Dickensian lodging-house, so dissimilar to the " Gothic " Wilkins elaborated later at Corpus and King's, is however by no means displeasing.

The original statutes of Downing were, it is said, inspired by the genius of the Younger Pitt. They foreshadowed developments which overtook all the other Cambridge codes during the course of the nineteenth century, by permitting laymen, who might be married, to become Fellows and have a majority in the governing body (the only parallel for which at that time was furnished by Trinity Hall), by limiting the length of tenure of Fellowships, unless they were held together with some College Office, and, with the Professorships in the Laws of England and in Medicine, encouraging inter-collegiate teaching.

If, in time, Downing College is the last of the Cambridge Houses to enjoy the full status of a College in the University, with those privileges and obligations touched upon in the course of Chapter V above, there are several other institutions devoted to learning and higher education in Cambridge, closely if unofficially connected with the University, which must still be mentioned. Some of them go by the appellation of " College " ; some of these " Colleges " have a system of government in all ways conforming to the collegiate plan properly so called ; all of them model the ideals, the daily life, and the habitations of their inmates on the example of the older and wealthier institutions with whom they generally enjoy close personal and local contact. The chief ground which prevents such institutions—leastways those designed for the use of men—from applying

for the full status of a College as an integral part of the University is the denominational qualification for membership, which the abolition of religious tests last century did away with in the University and *its* Colleges.

The largest of the sectarian establishments is Selwyn College, officially a Public Hostel, named after the prelate—preacher of the inaugural sermon at John's new Chapel and reserved for baptized members of the Church of England. Since 1882 it occupies buildings externally of a harmless enough Victorian pseudo-Gothic on a site in Newnham, between Sidgwick Avenue and Grange Road. To walk there from Queens', the nearest of the Colleges proper, should take rather less than ten minutes. Internally it has more to show than a visitor might infer from a casual glance at Sir Arthur Blomfield's elevations; notably some fine modern woodwork, quite recently completed, in the Chapel, which occupies a position analogous to that of Sir Christopher Wren's Chapel at Emmanuel, and some even finer Dutch woodwork of the late Renaissance, taken out of a gutted church at Rotterdam and reared up again round the dais of the Hall.

On the way to Selwyn from Queens' one passes, on the left-hand side of the way a few hundred yards short of the goal, another seminary under the ægis of the Establishment, Ridley Hall. It was founded, essentially as a post-graduate institution for the instruction of those contemplating Holy Orders, in 1879, and the first part of the buildings was open for the reception of students two years later. Their style, though better, is closely akin to that of Selwyn.

On the same side of the river, but at the " Borough "

end of the town, lie what have been called (without further particularization) "the poison and the antidote" in the shape of St. Edmund's House and Westminster College. The former was set up by the then Duke of Norfolk in 1896 and soon transferred to the buildings of a defunct Hostel (Ayerst's) off Mount Pleasant. Most of its inmates are secular priests of the Roman Catholic Church, though ordinands are admitted to membership as well. At present its local amenities could hardly demand a special visit: but the new Chapel is increasing apace in beauty and will probably be well worth looking at some day.

Westminster College, standing about quarter of a mile from St. Edmund's House, where Queens Road branches off from Northampton Street and Madingley Road, prepares graduates of Cambridge and other Universities for the Ministry of the Presbyterian Churches. Its red-brick buildings, pleasing but not frivolous, are among the best to be seen in these latter-day seminaries, excelled in fact only by those of the other completed Nonconformist Theological College, Cheshunt College. These form a most successful modern pile, distinctly reminiscent of the latest buildings of Emmanuel, in Bateman Street, close to the side-entrance of the Botanical Gardens and not far removed from the Leys School. Cheshunt College, as an active institution, can point to a longer history than Downing College, since it was founded as far back as 1768 by that Countess of Huntingdon who invented a religion and church of her own. With commendable toleration, however, she left the students of her College, which came into being at Talgarth in Brecon, "entirely free in their

choice of Christians among whom they may prefer to exercise their ministry . . . either at home or abroad and either in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion or otherwise as they shall think proper". The College was moved to Cambridge in 1905 from Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, which had been its home since 1792.

The two Theological Training Colleges in Jesus Lane, inchoate Wesley House and Westcott House, *alias* the "Clergy Training School" and appropriated to ordinands of the Church of England, having already received passing notice. The goodly modern buildings of the latter date from 1899 and 1925.

All the institutions just named—except Cheshunt College—bear witness to the remarkable demand for education, or at any rate for educational appliances, which constitutes one of the most noteworthy characteristics of last century, when even the learned professions saw fit to impose tests of capacity on their members, when the highest and lowest classes alike had to adapt their offspring to a programme of grades and examinations, when the British Ministry itself had to admit an individual whose prime duty was the interference in instruction up and down the whole country. As remarkable as the establishment of theological seminaries, which formed our latest theme, was the sudden expansion of female education, the eddies set up by which soon washed into the sacred precincts of Cambridge itself and deposited there what many subsequently have looked upon as nothing other than two stones of stumbling, the Colleges of Girton and Newnham.

The establishment now known as Girton College,

from the little village three miles from Cambridge which so unwittingly gives its *cachet* to the very acme of feminine culture wherever English may be spoken, first came into being as a very humble affair at Hitchin in 1869. A converted dwelling-house in the Hertfordshire market town was "designed to hold, in relation to girls' schools and home teaching, a position analogous to that occupied by the Universities towards the public schools for boys". Instead of pushing the analogy farther, after the American plan, and applying for a Charter to grant degrees of its own—which, in the light of later events, would seem to have been the better course—the little foundation within three years tore up its tender roots and sunk them in its present site, about two and a half miles from the centre of the town on the high road to Huntingdon, and linked itself even more closely with the major body so fortuitously exposed to its propinquity. Funds were raised and a "vested interest" created. To the endowment, it is interesting to note, the foremost woman of her day, George Eliot, contributed with a misgiving characteristic of her age and her own melancholy "meliorism", lest a university system might weaken the bonds of family life. The buildings then commenced have constantly been increased and now make quite a fine showing—at least on a ground plan. Their actual aspect, with its restless turrets and dormers and chimney-pots and the hoydenish blush of its brick, is rather less satisfactory, though it is doubly masked, first by plentiful creepers and second by an extensive belt of trees, the "Woodlands", extending for several furlongs in circuit on the boundaries of the site.

From the architectural point of view Newnham

MADINGLEY HILL

College, founded in 1871 and situated opposite Selwyn College, is much more pleasing. The architect, Mr. Basil Champneys, based his style not on what Mr. Waterhouse had taken for domestic Gothic, but on that prevailing at the time of Queen Anne. The whole College is divided into four major and two small blocks, connected by a cloister-passage, which afford ample room without sacrificing the necessary intimacy of the early eighteenth-century style. Unfortunately a striving for what must surely be an excess of light and air has detracted considerably from the harmony and æsthetic appeal of the latest of the buildings, Peile Hall as it is called, which backs on to Grange Road.

The position of women students and women teachers at Cambridge not only constitutes a sore point in the susceptibilities of almost all residents, whatever their sex, but is also liable to change (with the engendering of more bad blood) any day; so that perhaps it will be well to say as little about it as possible. Bit by bit the duties and tasks which, in the intellectual realm, the junior and senior members of Girton and Newnham Colleges have, with the concurrence of the University, taken upon themselves have become identical with those performed by their male counterparts, except that women have never been allowed (and apparently have never wished) to present themselves for the examinations intended to lead up to the Pass Degree in Arts. But the status and rights which, rightly or wrongly, they believed should accompany such labours, namely, those involved by abolition of all sex-differentiation in the University, have not followed of their own accord. As the result, the "Women's Question at

Cambridge " has, for upwards of quarter of a century now, resembled the " crisis " of a newspaper, in that it has never abated. In 1897, in 1920, and in 1921 hundreds of Doctors and Masters came up from all parts of England—for even from London the traveller always journeys " up " to the University—to leave the tiny impress of their vote on the sands of time in helping to decide the problem which seems to baffle the acutest intellects, namely, whether sexual equality at Cambridge involves the ruin of civilization or not. A steady stream of gowned seigniors, well primed with heady effervescences distilled in a myriad " flysheets ", passed before the vote-taking Proctors throughout almost the whole of one day on each occasion, while their juniors, as exhilarated as they, behaved riotously outside. The first time, when it was summer and the use of the telephone as yet imperfectly comprehended, a system of flag-signals was devised to whisk the outcome of the voting from the Senate House to the expectant inmates of Newnham College. On a later occasion the good news was conveyed in a less ethereal manner: the young men, in fact, beat down the gates of the ladies' fastness.

A compromise at present holds the field: the women have lost their main disability and grievance, since they receive all the degrees of the University on the same terms as men, but they are not members of the University and can never see themselves begowned and becapped in the illustrated papers, or rise to the lesser eminence of a seat in the Senate and the administrative committees. Here the male still rules unchecked in his stark masculinity; that, at least, is the theory.

INDEX

Addenbrooke's Hospital 48, 91
Alcock, J. 221 ff.
Arts School 88.
Audley, T., Lord Audley of Walden 215
Austin, C. and J. 156, 200, 235

" Backs," The 7, 37
Bacon, Sir Francis 192 f., 200
Balsham, Hugh of 110 f.
Barnwell Priory 8, 20 ff.
Barnwell Process, The 30, 63
Barnwell Theatre Royal 33
Barrow, I. 118, 192
Basevi, G. 93
Bateman, W. 174, 181 f.
Bentley, R. 86, 196 ff.
Blomfield, Sir Arthur 247
Blore, E. 85
Boating and Rowing 7, 32, 178, 228
Bodley, G. F. 128, 158
Botanical Gardens 90 ff.
Brown, F. M. 97, 111, 225
Buckingham, Edward and Henry, Dukes of 215
Burleigh, William Cecil, Lord 17, 80 f., 197, 212 f.
Burne-Jones, E. C. 112, 225
Burrough, J. 75, 116, 166, 181
Butler, S. 46, 205, 213
Butt Green 7
Byron, George Gordon, Lord 195, 200, 203

Caius, Dr. J. 180, 182 ff.
Calverley, C. S. 7, 238
Cam 6, 11
Cambridge, Statute of 30
Castle, 14, 85, 134, 164
Cavendish, Henry 117
Censor of Non-Collegiate Students 58
Champneys, B. 251
Chancellor 62 ff., 67, 79, 151
Charles I, King 190, 209
Charles XII of Sweden, King 88
Chaucer, G. 11, 161 f.
Cheke, Sir John 73, 213
Cheshunt College 248 f.
Christ's Piece 4, 7
CHURCHES :
  All Saints' 34
  Christchurch 33
  Congregational 90
  Great St. Mary's 43 ff., 61, 80 ff.
  Holy Sepulchre and St. Andrew's 47 f.
  Holy Trinity 45 f.

CHURCHES :
Round, *see* Holy Sepulchre *above*
St. Andrew's the Great 233
St. Andrew's the Less 31
St. Bene't's 14, 29, 38 f., 141
St. Botolph's 39 f.
St. Clement's 48
St. Edward's the Martyr 38, 41 ff.
St. Giles's 36
St. John's Zachary 42, 157
St. Mary's the Less 40 f., 113
St. Michael's 48
St. Peter's 35 f. ; *see also* St. Mary's the Less *above*
University, *see* Great St. Mary's *above*
Clerk-Maxwell, J. 118, 196
Cockerell, C. R. 70 f., 85
Coe Fen 1, 6, 9
Coleridge, S. T. 208, 226 f.
COLLEGES in the University :
Christ's 4, 18, 171, 205 f., 232 ff., 239 f., 242
Clare 42, 125 f., 161 ff., 170 f., 172, 240
Corpus Christi 39, 126, 139 ff., 172, 181
Downing 6, 89, 172, 245 f.
Emmanuel 18, 171, 234, 239 ff.
Gonville and Caius 75, 86, 125, 146, 178 ff., 242
Jesus 4, 205, 219 ff., 234
King's 59, 71, 125, 126, 129, 150 ff., 167, 171, 221, 235
Magdalene 139, 214 ff., 221
Pembroke 116, 118 ff., 125, 241 f.
COLLEGES in the University :
Peterhouse 54, 90 f., 108 ff., 125, 164, 173, 205
Queens' 59, 125 ff., 133, 141, 172, 205
St. Catharine's 125 f., 132 ff., 162, 164, 171
St. John's 2, 16, 110, 172, 205 ff., 216, 233, 235, 242
Sidney Sussex 229 ff., 234, 240, 241
Trinity 4, 83, 186 ff., 220, 221, 235, 242
Trinity Hall 42, 125 f., 146, 163, 170 ff., 182
Cosins, J. 114, 180
Cowley, A. 117, 196
Cranmer, T. 220, 226
Crashaw, R. 117
Cromwell, Oliver, Lord Protector 15 f., 231 f.
Cudworth, R. 237, 240
Cumberland, R. 194

Darwin, C. 237
Degrees 56, 60 ff., 74, 78 ff., 251 f.
Demonstrators 60, 63 f.
Directors of Studies 58 ff.
Dokett, Andrew 127
Donne, J. 203
" Dons " 60
Downing, Sir George 245
Dowsing, W. 114 f. 155 f., 191, 240
Dryden, J. 203

Edward the Martyr, King 19, 42
Edward III, King 188
Edward VI, King 238

Edward VII, King 45
Elizabeth, Queen 55, 80 ff., 157 f.
Elizabeth Woodville, Queen 126
Erasmus, D. 129 f., 234
Esquire-Bedells 43 f., 67, 79
Essex, J. 131, 165, 198 f., 205, 230, 242
Examination Hall 77, 88

Fellows 55, 59 f.
Fenner's 5
Finch, Sir John, and Baines, Sir Thomas 235, 238
Fisher, J. 129, 204 f., 207, 221, 234
Fitzwilliam House 56, 58, 91
Fitzwilliam Museum 93 ff.
Fletcher, J. 144, 160

Garlic Fair 20
George I, King 69 f.
George IV, King 201
George V, King 91
Gibbons, Grinling 193, 200
Gibbons, O. 159
Gibbs, J. 75, 158, 236
Girton College 249 ff.
God's House 125, 151, 187, 234, *see also* COLLEGES: Christ's, *above*
Gonville, E. 181
Granta 11, *see also* Cam *above*
Grantchester 1, 11 f.
Gray, T. 3, 78, 116 f., 120, 123
Greene, R. 168 f., 213
Guildhall, 19 f., 48

Hales, S. 147 f.
Harvard, J. 240 ff.
Harvey, G. 121 f., 169, 177 f.
Haveus, T. 183
Heads of Houses 59 f., 63
Henry III, King 16
Henry VI, King 42, 125 f., 150 ff., 159, 234 f.
Henry VIII, King 156, 159, 188, 190, 195
Herbert, G. 203
Herrick, R. 177 f.
Hobson, T. 19, 137 f., 236
"Hobson's Conduit" 18 f., 90
Hostels 55, 56, 163, 179, 242
Hubbard, G. 88

Jackson, Sir Thomas 89
James I, King 82 f., 113, 190
Jane (Grey), Queen 133 f.
Joachim, W. 77, 196
John, King 16, 19, 53
Jowett, J. 45, 171 f.

Kelvin, William Thomson, Lord 117 f.
King's Ditch 16 ff.

Laboratories 64, 87 ff.
Lamb, C. 41, 244
Latimer, H. 42, 168 f.
Lecturers and Lectureships 58 ff., 63 f.
Leys School 91
"Little-Go", *see* Previous Examination *below*

Macaulay, T. B., 192, 203
Malcolm IV, King of Scotland 220
Malthus, T. R. 226
Margaret of Anjou, Queen 126 ff.

Margaret, Lady, Countess of Richmond and Derby 187, 205 ff., 234 f.
Marlowe, C. 143 f., 168
Mary I, Queen 133 f., 190, 195
Maurice, F. D. 42, 177
Midsummer Common 7 ff.
Midsummer Fair 8
Mildmay, Sir Walter 237, 239 f.
Milton, J. 6, 137 f., 201, 208, 236 f.
Morris, W. 110 f., 128, 225
Museums, 70 f., 87 ff., 93 ff., 147

Nash, T. 168, 213
National Institute of Agricultural Botany 3
Nevile, T. 189, 195, 199, 202, 216
Newnham College 249 ff.
Newton, Sir Isaac 131, 179, 192, 194 f.

Observatory 92, 190
Oxford University 51, 52, 53, 65, 69, 81, 84, 130, 162, 186 f.

Paris University 51, 53, 54, 130
Parker, M. 145 ff.
Parker's Piece 4 ff.
Pearson, J. L. 71
Pepys, S. 216 ff.
Perne, A. 17 f., 112
Perse, S. 33, 185
Pitt, W. 75 f., 84 f., 120, 246, *see also* University Press *below*
Plays, College and University 83, 99, 124, 132, 238 f.
Poll-Degree 61
Porson, R. 171, 192 f.
Previous Examination 61
Prior, M. 209
Proctors 44, 59, 65 f.
Professors 57, 63 f., 246
Public Orator 79 f.

Ray, J. 136
Reach Fair 20
Readers 63 f.
Registrary and Registry 67 f., 75
Richard III, King 126
Rickman and Hutchinson, Messrs. 212
Ridley, N. 122, 169 f.
Ridley Hall 56, 247
Robinson Crusoe's Island 6
Rotherham, T. 122, 222
Roubiliac, L. F. 100, 191 ff., 200

St. Audrey's Fair 8
St. Edmund's House 56, 248
St. Rhadegund's Priory 20, 221, *see also* COLLEGES: Jesus *above*
Salvin, A. 172, 202, 224
Scholars 55, 60
"School of Pythagoras" 28, 34 f., 216
Scientific Institutions 87 f.
Scott, George Gilbert 119, 121
Scott, Sir Gilbert 29, 71, 111, 159, 206
Scott, Sir Giles Gilbert 167
Selwyn, G. A. 210, 247

Selwyn College P.H. 56, 247
Senate House and Yard 68 f., 73, 74 ff.
Senate of the University 62, 76 f., 78 ff.
Sheep's Green 6 f.
Shire Hall 14, 35
Shirley, J. 136, 144
Sidney, F., Countess of Sussex 229
Smart, C. 123 f.
Smith and Brewer, Messrs. 94
Spenser, E. 121 f.
Stephen, L. 176 f.
Sterne, L. 88, 226 ff.
Stourbridge Common, Fair and Hospital 20 ff., 26, 28 f.
Symons, R. 189, 195, 199, 210, 229, 241 f.

Taylor, J. 179
Tennyson, Alfred, Lord 192, 195, 201, 203
Thackeray, W. M. 196, 201, 203
Tripos 61
Tutors 58 ff.
Tyndale, W. 137

University:
Engineering Laboratory 1, 91
Farms, 89 f.
University:
Librarian and Library 50, 67, 68 ff., 167
Press 27, 75, 83 ff.
Sermon 43 ff., 180

Vanbrugh, Sir John 217
Vice-Chancellor 43 f., 59, 63, 67
Victoria, Queen 77 f.

Walpole, H. 61
Walpole, Sir Robert 61
Walsingham, A. de 41
Washington, G. 41
Waterhouse, A. 120 f., 179, 226, 251
Webb, Sir Aston 91, 159, 185
Wesley House 34, 220, 249
Westcott House 34, 249
Westminster College 248
Whewell, W. 192, 202
Wilkins, W. 85, 145, 158, 201, 245
William I, King 14 f., 38
William II, King 19
Wordsworth, W. 78, 207 f., 212, 237
Wren, Sir Christopher 119, 199 f., 212, 241
Wren, M. 113 ff., 119
Wright, S. 70 f.
Wyatt, Sir Thomas 213
Wyatville, Sir Jeffry 230

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